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ALLYN AND BACON'S COLLEGE LATIN SERIES
UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF
CHARLES E. BENNETT AND JOHN C. ROLFE

TACITUS

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

IULII AGRICOLAE

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

WEX's edition of the *Agricola* (1852) may be said to constitute a new landmark in the philological labors devoted to the elucidation of this biography. He incorporated what was still of value in the work of his numerous predecessors, and added not a little of his own to the improvement of the text and to a better understanding of its contents. Since his time the contributions made to the criticism and exegesis of the *Agricola*, and to Tacitus generally, have been very considerable, both in quality and quantity; but while the historical, ethnological, and syntactical material thus accumulated is satisfactorily exhaustive, the strictly *rhetorical* features of the *Agricola*, conspicuous though they are, have hitherto been persistently and inexplicably overlooked or ignored. And yet it must be evident that a student can at best acquire but a very superficial appreciation of the consummate artistic merits of this treatise if he remain in ignorance of the vital elements that make the *Agricola* the immortal masterpiece that it is.

I have, therefore, been at pains to illustrate and analyze, albeit under the restrictions necessarily imposed upon a college edition, all noteworthy rhetorical features in the style and structure of the *Agricola*, the synopsis in the Introduction being, for the reason given above, intentionally more full than might otherwise appear warranted in an edition of this nature. The discovery that Tacitus, in writing the *Agricola*, closely followed time-honored rhetorical canons for biographical composition was as great a surprise to me, who had once denied this on the basis of an examination of extant classical biographies, as it will doubtless be to others. I hope, however, that the necessarily brief review of the evidence given in the Introduction will suffice to carry conviction.

In the Notes I have endeavored to face every real difficulty and to omit no comment, wherever such would be welcome to the young student, and I trust that no wholly irrelevant matter has

been allowed to intrude. In not burdening the commentary with scrupulous acknowledgment for every real obligation incurred, imperative as this would be in an edition intended for scholars, I have ventured to follow a well-recognized precedent. Nor have I, for reasons of brevity, called attention, except in a few instances, to the existence of other interpretations than those, whether new or old, which I deemed sufficiently convincing to warrant acceptance. Under these circumstances I gladly take this opportunity of saying that, of all the editions accessible to me, I have found those of Wex, Peter, Andresen, and Furneaux especially helpful and suggestive; and I only regret that, having profited so much by their labors, I should have been compelled to dissent from their views so frequently, though I hope never without valid reasons. That I have again made every possible use of the admirable Lexicon Taciteum, unfortunately not yet finished, will be evident from my Notes.

The text has been subjected to a thorough revision, and may claim to represent an independent recension. It differs from that of Halm[4] in nearly sixty instances, the justification of these deviations being given, as briefly as possible, in a Critical Appendix. It is a matter of great regret that I had to be deprived of the benefit which the third known Ms. of the *Agricola*, discovered by Dr. R. Wuensch in Toledo, might have proved to be for the constitution of a better text than is now possible. But the most strenuous efforts to secure a copy, photograph, or collation have been alike unavailing, owing to the unfortunate attitude of the prelate of Toledo, who, though incapable of reading the Ms. himself, has absolutely prohibited its inspection, on the ground that a Ms. once made known loses all its value.

In conclusion, I have again the pleasure of acknowledging with gratitude the most welcome and valuable aid which my old friends, Professor John C. Rolfe of the University of Michigan and Professor Charles E. Bennett of Cornell University, have so ungrudgingly given to this book in its passage through the press.

A. GUDEMAN.

PHILADELPHIA,
June 1, 1899.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

Life. — P. Cornelius Tacitus seems to have been born of an equestrian family in northern Italy.[1] The date of his birth can be only approximately determined from a reference in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger, Tacitus's intimate and lifelong friend. In a letter addressed to Tacitus (*Epist.* VII. 20, 24) we are told that the latter, though *propemodum aequalis*, had already achieved a great oratorical reputation, while he himself was still *adulescentulus*. The allusion is quite vague, but as Pliny was born in 62 A.D., having reached his eighteenth year at the time of the destruction of Pompeji in 79 A.D., Tacitus cannot well have been born earlier than 54/55 A.D., a date which agrees with what little other biographical information we possess of him. He seems to have received his education in Rome, for it is all but certain that he was, like Pliny, a pupil of Quintilian. At all events, his earliest extant work, the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, published not later than the reign of Titus (79–81 A.D.), exhibits many clear traces of the influence of that great teacher.[2] According to his own statement, he served his forensic apprenticeship under two

[1] It is a most curious fact that not a single great writer in Latin literature was a native Roman.

[2] See my Introd. to the *Dial.*, pp. xiii. f.

of the most illustrious advocates of the time, M. Aper and Julius Secundus, whom he has immortalized in the treatise referred to, being then about twenty years of age.

In 77 A.D., the already renowned orator was betrothed to the daughter of Agricola, the marriage[1] taking place shortly after, on the departure of his father-in-law for Britain.

About the same time began his official career. The passage in which Tacitus refers to this is tantalizingly brief and indefinite,[2] but it is probable that he first held the office of a *tribunus militum*, serving also as one of the *viginti viri*, a lower magistracy, given to men possessing the *census senatorius*, and usually the direct stepping-stone to the quaestorship. To this office he seems to have been appointed by Titus, about 80 A.D., the legal age being twenty-five. The dates of his tribuneship or aedileship are unknown, but in 88 A.D. he was present as *praetor* and *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* at the *ludi saeculares*.[3] In the following year Tacitus was absent from Rome, very probably in the capacity of propraetor of some minor province, possibly Belgium.[4] He did not return till after the death of Agricola, in 93 A.D.[5] The strained relations between Domitian and Agricola doubtless retarded Tacitus's further promotion, and he did not reach the consulship till 97 A.D., under Nerva. In 100 A.D. Tacitus and Pliny were associated in the impeachment of Marius Priscus, the proconsul of Africa. Some dozen or more years later he was

[1] *Agr.* 9, 28 f.

[2] *Hist.* I. 1, *dignitatem nostram, a Vespasiano* (69–79) *incohatam, a Tito* (79–81) *auctam, a Domitiano* (81–96) *longius provectam non abnuerim.*

[3] See *Ann.* XI. 11.

[4] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 16, 17, 76, speaks of *Corneli Taciti equitis Romani Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis.* This may well have been the historian's father.

[5] Ch. 45, 4.

proconsul of Asia, as we learn from an inscription.[1] The date of his death is altogether unknown, but it cannot have been earlier than 116 A.D., as may be inferred from an allusion to the conquests of Trajan.[2]

Writings. — If we except the youthful but brilliant *Dialogus* and numerous speeches which the distinguished orator doubtless published from time to time, according to the prevailing custom, Tacitus's illustrious career as a writer begins with the *Agricola*, which appeared shortly after the death of Nerva (Jan. 27, 98 A.D.), although the entire work, with the exception of the prooemium (1–3) and one passage at the close,[3] may well have been composed immediately after the death of Domitian.

In the same year there followed the *Germania*, the date being fixed by ch. 37, 5 ff. of that work.

The *Histories*, announced as in contemplation in the *Agricola* (ch. 3, 28–30), appeared between 105–109. They comprised the story of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, but only the first four books and a fragment of the fifth, dealing with the year 69–70, have survived.

The *Annals* began with the death of Augustus, and concluded with the assassination of Nero in 68 A.D. Only bks. I.–IV., portions of V. and VI., and bks. XI.–XVI. are preserved, the entire narrative of the reign of Caligula, the beginning of that of Claudius, and the end of Nero's being lost.

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[1] See below.

[2] *Ann.* II. 61; IV. 4.

[3] Ch. 44, 4–11 has all the appearance of an afterthought, it being in the nature of a vaticinium post eventum, and ch. 45, 12, *non vidit*, etc., it seems, would very appropriately have followed immediately after *potest . . . effugisse*. The absence of the epithet *divus* in ch. 3, 13 need not imply that Nerva was still living when these words were penned. See note ad loc.

His design of writing the history of Augustus[1] and of Nerva and Trajan[2] seems to have been frustrated by his death; at least no such works existed in the time of St. Jerome (fourth century).

II.

THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE AGRICOLA.[3]

The opening chapter of the introduction deals exclusively with the biographical and autobiographical treatises of former times, the *Agricola* being expressly designated as a *vita defuncti hominis* at its close. Two other instances of biography are added at the beginning of the second chapter, and in the epilogue the biographical character of his work is again emphasized by the author.[4] But in spite of these explicit statements, modern scholars have persistently refused to accept Tacitus's own classification of this work, on the ground that the treatise flagrantly violates certain alleged canons of biographical composition, which must, of course, either have been unknown to Tacitus or deliberately ignored by him. But when the problem arose of assigning to it a more suitable designation, a great diversity of opinion was revealed, partly due to an habitual confusion with the question as to the purpose of the treatise. Eliminating this for the present from the discussion as irrelevant, we find that the principal objections against the assumption that the *Agricola* is a *biography* resolve themselves into *two*.

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[1] *Ann.* III. 24.

[2] *Hist.* I. 1.

[3] See the more detailed discussion of the questions at issue in *Proceed. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol. XXVIII. (1897), pp. xlviii. ff., where also a full bibliography of the controversy will be found. Portions of this paper have been utilized in the above.

[4] Ch. 46, 30, *Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus.*

It is asserted that the work contains too much historical matter for a biography and too many biographical features for a history. In the second place, the detailed account of the ethnology and geography of Britain, and the elaborate speeches put into the mouth of the Caledonian chieftain and of the Roman general on the eve of the decisive battle, are pronounced to be wholly out of place in a genuine biography. One scholar even went so far as to maintain that all these alleged irrelevant portions, to which he added the twenty-eighth chapter, commemorating the adventure of the Usipi, were not originally designed to form an integral part of this treatise, but represented certain preliminary studies of the author, the results of which were to be incorporated into his *Histories*, in the narrative of the British campaigns under Domitian. Apart from other considerations to be mentioned presently, this hypothesis makes it extremely difficult to understand why the last book of that work was not published till 109, if Tacitus had as early as 97 already begun the collection of his material for the reign of Domitian. As a matter of fact, we happen to know that as late as 106 he was still searching for information in connection with an event to be related under the year 79 A.D.[1]

But these objections are unwarranted, for not only do the alleged sections so confidently pronounced irrelevant subserve a definite and legitimate purpose, but — what has hitherto been overlooked — it can be shown that Tacitus has carefully conformed to the rules of rhetoric laid down for biographical composition.[2]

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[1] Cp. Plin. *Epist.* VI. 16, 1, *petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis.*

[2] They are found scattered in the treatises of Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Theon, Doxopater, but especially of Menander's *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, collected in the *Rhetores Graeci* of Walz and of Spengel.

Biography, according to all our ancient authorities, belongs to the *epideictic* branch of literary composition, in particular the *encomium*, and its rules are illustrated, as was natural, in connection with the biography of a king, the so-called *βασιλικὸς λόγος*,[1] the rhetoricians usually citing as typical models the still extant *Agesilaus* of Xenophon and the *Euagoras* of Isocrates.[2] That the *Agricola* partakes of the character of an *encomium*, a merely cursory perusal could have confirmed, even if Tacitus had not expressly told us so himself.[3] In fact, the line of demarcation between a historical narrative and an encomium was a very slight one.[4]

The constituent parts of a regularly constructed *encomium* are the following:[5] 1. *προοίμιον*. 2. *γένεσις, φύσις, ἀνατροφή*.

These precepts present a stereotyped sameness, being often reproduced verbatim from earlier handbooks, and they are, one and all, ultimately derived from treatises reaching back of our era. The Romans developed no rhetorical systems of their own, but began in the days of Cicero and thereafter with ever-increasing assiduity to copy and follow the rhetorical canons of the Greeks. For a brief account of the above rhetoricians and others, see Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* [3], pp. 752 ff.

[1] That its essential features are common to biographical writing in general might have been taken for granted, even if Menander (*Rhet. Graec.* III. 369, 25 Sp. IX. 215 f. W.) had not expressly confirmed it: *οὐ γὰρ ἴδιον τοῦτο μόνου τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν πόλιν.*

[2] E.g. *Rhet. Graec.* I. 164; IX. 420. 437–465 (a dozen times); II. 15. 446 f. 480; III. 551; IV. 52; VII. 906; IX. 220. 289 Wz. On the parallelisms to them in the *Agricola*, see below.

[3] Ch. 3, 31, *hic interim liber honori Agricolae . . . destinatus.*

[4] E.g. Doxopater in *Rh. Gr.* II. 413 Wz.: *οὐδὲν διοίσει ψιλῆς ἱστορίας τὸ ἐγκώμιον*, and esp. *Amm. Marcell.* XVI. 1, 3, *quidquid autem narrabitur quod non falsitas arguta concinnat sed fides integra documentis evidentibus fulta ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit.*

[5] Cp. Hermogenes, I. 38 ff. W.; Menander, IX. 219 (= III. 371 Sp.); 237 f. (= 381 f.); 242 (= 385); 281 (= 413); 292 (= 420), Alexander, 333 W.; Aphthonius, I. 87 W.; Schol. in Aphthon. II. 616 W.

3. ἐπιτηδεύματα. 4. πράξεις. 5. σύγκρισις. 6. ἐπίλογος. Their order is definitely fixed only for the first, the second, and the last; in the arrangement of the others certain preferences are expressed, but otherwise considerable latitude is allowed. No rhetorically trained writer seems to have ventured to emancipate himself from this traditional norm, except in minor details; but in the handling of the subject matter, an author was less hampered, his treatment being naturally conditioned by countless considerations inherent in the theme itself, in the circumstances under which he wrote, and in the purpose he had in view.

Now a comparison between these rhetorical precepts and illustrations and the *Agricola* reveals the fact that Tacitus, as far as possible, followed similar models.

1. *Prooemium* (ch. 1–3). As already remarked, no rigid or precise rules for the introduction to the βασιλικὸς λόγος or any other of the many encomia are laid down, but instead a large number of suggestions is enumerated from which a choice might be made. The prooemium of the *Agricola* is one of exquisite art and originality, for not only does it impart considerable information of a strictly introductory nature, but, at the same time, it succeeds in giving that peculiar perspective in which Tacitus doubtless desired his readers to view the story of this hero.

2. Γένεσις, φύσις, ἀνατροφή. These subjects are discussed in ch. 4 f., the resemblance to Menander's illustrations being particularly striking,[1] a fact which, of course, does not invalidate the trustworthiness of the statements themselves. It is, moreover, not the identity of arrangement as such

[1] Theon, I. 229 W. (= II. 111 Sp.), μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον εὐθὺς περὶ εὐγενείας ἐροῦμεν (= ch. 4, 1 ff. vetere et inlustri . . . colonia . . . equestris nobilitas, etc.); Menander, IX. 219 f. (= III. 371), μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ φύσεως (this is given by Tacitus at the close, ch. 44, 22 ff.) . . . ἐξῆς . . . ἡ ἀνατροφή (= 4, 8 ff.) . . . δεῖ . . . τὴν φύσιν τῆς

which is noteworthy, for the very nature of things would prompt the insertion of these topics at the beginning, but rather the many parallelisms in details, thus suggesting traditional rhetorical models.

3. Ἐπιτηδεύματα. They are defined by Menander[1] as ἄνευ ἀγώνων ἤθη, and it does not seem accidental that by far the larger number of ethical or personal traits of Agricola is accumulated in the very next chapters in accordance with the rhetorical rules, and that there is, in fact, scarcely one of these characteristics which is not paralleled in Hermogenes, Theon, Menander, and others.[2]

4. Πράξεις. The next topic of the biographical encomium is the πράξεις or achievements of the hero,[3] but in the *Agricola* there follow ch. 10–13, dealing with the ethnology and geography of Britain. Thus it might seem that those who declared this to be an irrelevant episode could now even appeal to the laws of rhetoric as confirmatory of their view, but here another passage in Menander happily comes to our rescue which fully vindicates the discussion of these very subjects under this head,[4] a passage the more significant,

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ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν (= ch. 4, 18 f. flagrantem animum, etc.) ἐν ᾧ ἐρεῖς τὴν φιλομάθειαν . . . τὴν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα σπουδὴν . . . κἂν μὲν ἐν λόγοις ᾖ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ . . . τοῦτο ἐπαινέσεις (= ch. 4, 18. 15. 18).

[1] Menander, IX. 220 W. (III. 372 Sp.).

[2] Hermogenes, I. 38 (II. 12) = Doxopater, II. 429, ὅτι δίκαιος (= ch. 9, 11) ὅτι σώφρων (= ch. 4, 21) . . . ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οἷον ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον, φιλόσοφον (= ch. 4, 16) . . . ἢ στρατιωτικόν (= ch. 5); Theon, I. 228 (II. 110); Menander, IX. 220 (= III. 372) τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἤθους ἔμφασιν περιέχει οἷον ὅτι δίκαιος ἐγένετο ἢ σώφρων ἐν τῇ νεότητι (= ch. 4, 21); IX. 225 (III. 374), αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ διαταττόμενος (= ch. 19, 30), αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγῶν (= ch. 18, 1), σύμβουλος (= ch. 18, 7); IX. 285 (III. 416) = ch. 9, 17, σωφροσύνη and δικαιοσύνη being repeatedly emphasized as essential characteristics of the subject of an encomium.

[3] Menander, IX. 220 (III. 372), ἀκολουθεῖ τοίνυν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι λοιπὸν ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος.

[4] IX. 223 (III. 373), διαγράψεις δὲ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου καὶ

because it is found in the chapter dealing with the βασιλικὸς λόγος, or biography.

But while the sections under notice are thus seen to be justified by rhetorical canons, Tacitus may at the same time have been led to insert them by still other motives. One such reason he seems to give himself,[1] still another may have been the example of Sallust, his great model at this stage of his career as a writer, who inserts a similar account of Africa in the *Jugurtha*[2] before proceeding to the πράξεις proper. Finally, this sketch subserves the purpose of acquainting the reader with the kind of people with whom a Roman general had to deal and the geographical conditions with which he had to contend.

The narrative of the πράξεις themselves (ch. 18–42)[3] is again in perfect conformity with the rhetorical norm, being divided into two parts,[4] Agricola's military exploits (ch. 18–40, 2) and his life as a private citizen (ch. 40, 3–42),[5] but in this part also modern scholars have found much to censure. It is contended in the first place, that the paragraph treating of the memorable exploit of the mutinous Usipian cohort (ch. 28) is but another irrelevant episode, interrupting the continuity of the story. Secondly, the two elab-

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φύσεις καὶ θέσεις χωρίων, ἐν οἷς οἱ πόλεμοι καὶ ποταμῶν δὲ καὶ λιμένων καὶ ὁρῶν, etc., and Cic. *Orat.* 20, 66, cited below.

[1] Ch. 10, 1 ff.

[2] Ch. 17–19, and Livy's description of Tempe, XLV. 6.

[3] On ch. 13–18 see below.

[4] Menander, *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 221 f. (III. 372), τὰς τοιαύτας τοίνυν διαιρήσεις πράξεις δίχα εἰς τε τὰ κατ' εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον.

[5] Menander, l.c. προθήσεις τὰς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν ἐν ταύταις λαμπρὸς ὁ ἐπαινούμενος φαίνηται, and IX. 226 (III. 375), τέλος δ'ἐπιθεὶς ταῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πράξεσι μεταβήσῃ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. This is the arrangement followed in the *Agricola*, for the τὰ ἐν πολέμῳ formed the most glorious period in his career. The πράξεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ preceding them were not as noteworthy as those which he performed

orate speeches (ch. 30–32, 33–34) are said to be out of place in a biography.

The Relevancy of ch. 28. — As regards the *first* of these objections, it may be admitted that a modern writer would in all probability have relegated the item to a foot-note, if he had thought it worthy of mention at all, but this device was unknown to the ancients, who were compelled to insert such passages in the body of the text. The episode is, however, by no means as irrelevant as it might seem at first sight, for it admirably shows of what heterogeneous and unruly elements the army of Agricola was composed, thus enhancing the merit of a general capable of fusing them into an effective instrument of war, a fact subsequently emphasized by implication, in that the decisive battle was won wholly by the Roman auxiliaries, of whom the Usipi had constituted a part. Again, if the adventure was thought by Tacitus too noteworthy and interesting to be omitted, it could have found no other place without destroying the chronological sequence of events, which is rigidly adhered to throughout. Finally, the passage subserves a *dramatic* purpose. The author had been marshaling all his facts to lead up to the dénouement. With the closing words of ch. 27, 3, *atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum*, the no less excited reader feels the oppressive calm that precedes the storm, feels that the final crisis is at hand, and just as often in the Greek drama a soothing choral chant precedes the catastrophe, so Tacitus has here introduced the *magnum ac memorabile facinus* by way of diversion, before he proceeds in the next chapter to the detailed story of the final struggle, destined to prove so

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after his retirement, and, therefore, Tacitus passed over the former briefly, while the latter are dealt with at some length. The same method is favored by Menander, IX. 216 (III. 369), *τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα λυσιτελεῖ παρατρέχειν.*

disastrous to the British cause and so glorious a triumph for his hero.[1]

The Speeches. — I turn to a consideration of the speeches. It is well known that these form a conspicuous and unique feature of classical historiography from Thucydides down to Ammianus Marcellinus, the last of the great historians of antiquity, addresses to soldiers on the eve of a battle being by far the most numerous. These speeches, moreover, are, without exception, either wholly or largely fictitious, for in the majority of instances circumstances naturally prevented actual speeches of any length from being delivered at all, or, if they were, the historian could have had no accurate knowledge of their contents. The author, therefore, simply put into the mouth of the speaker the sentiments which he deemed fitting to the occasion, his imagination being occasionally aided by reports of what was actually said.[2] But whether fictitious or only partly so, the ancient historian invariably cast the speech into his own stylistic mould, as we may still demonstrate by a comparison of the speech of Claudius in Tacitus and the actual address of the emperor, which happens to be preserved.[3] But while the fiction of actual delivery is maintained throughout, no deception was intended or involved, for even though historians do not, like Thucydides, take the reader into their confidence, the speeches are always intro-

[1] The objection urged against this view by Andresen, that in reality a year had elapsed between ch. 28 and ch. 29, does not of course affect the reader. Besides, it involves the unreasonable demand of a strict observance of the unity of time, which is not insisted upon even by Aristotle.

[2] See the famous passage in Thucyd. I. 22.

[3] *Ann.* XI. 24, with Furneaux's notes, and cp. especially *Ann.* XV. 63, *pleraque tradidit quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo*, in reference to Seneca's address before committing suicide.

duced by some stereotyped phrase which precludes an exact and genuine reproduction.[1]

The ancients resorted to this rhetorical expedient in the conviction that by so doing they could more vividly and objectively portray the feelings and the motives by which the principal characters were actuated, and thus at the same time define the issues and reflect the spirit of the contending parties.[2]

Now, inasmuch as Tacitus was writing the life, not of a poet or scientist or philosopher, but of a general who was himself helping to make history, it was inevitable that he should deal with πράξεις, which were the special province of the historian, and thus the rhetorical exigencies of historical prose of which speeches constituted an integral part, would be sufficient to justify their insertion in this strictly historical portion of his biography. If the speeches of Calgacus and Agricola are to be condemned as irrelevant in a genuine biography, the description of the battle, constituting as it did an equally integral feature of historical narrative,[3] should have met with the same condemnation, and yet no one has ever made the least objection to it in spite of its rhetorical and all but imaginative character.[4]

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[1] See note, ch. 29, 10.

[2] The stereotyped rhetorical character of these military harangues is perhaps best shown by the numerous parallelisms in sentiment, often expressed in similar phraseology, found in the speeches of Thucydides, Livy, Curtius, and Sallust, although in the case of the last mentioned direct indebtedness of Tacitus is reasonably certain. See below.

[3] Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 20, 66, *in qua* (sc. *historia*) *et narratur ornate et regio saepe aut pugna describitur, interponuntur etiam contiones et hortationes.*

[4] See notes to ch. 35 ff. and Woelfflin, *Rhein. Mus.* XXIX. p. 285. In general, H. Peter, *Die geschichtliche Literat. in der röm. Kaiserzeit*, I. pp. 307–313. Livy and Tacitus are notoriously careless and unreliable in battle descriptions, but even Thucydides and Polybius, who

The Historical Retrospect. — 5. Σύγκρισις. Immediately upon the account of the ethnology and geography of Britain there follows in our treatise a fairly detailed retrospect concerning the predecessors of Agricola (ch. 13–18), and it, too, has been pronounced out of place in a biography. But this objection is also unwarranted, for here again Tacitus strictly conforms to the rules for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, the historical survey being clearly in the nature of a σύγκρισις or comparison, which is invariably given as an integral part of the biographical encomium.[1] And that Tacitus himself regarded these and the preceding chapters as legitimate and essential is indicated by ch. 18, 17, *hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices Agricola . . . invenit,* with which words he introduces the πράξεις ἐν πολέμῳ of his hero.

The σύγκρισις is preferably made to follow the πράξεις and is placed immediately before the ἐπίλογος,[2] but its position was not definitely fixed[3] and Tacitus was therefore perfectly at liberty to insert it where he chose, without violating any rhetorical standards. With that keen eye for effective dramatic grouping which distinguishes him above all

among ancient historians took the greatest pains in regard to the topography and strategic movements of a battle, do not wholly satisfy modern standards of accuracy and clearness, for they, too, occasionally succumbed to the temptation of rhetorical embellishment.

[1] E.g. Hermogenes, *Rhet. Graec.* I. 42 ff. (II. 14 ff.); Anonymus I. 133, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ μικρὰ παραβάλλων τοῖς μείζοσι; Theon, I. 231 ff. (II. 112 ff.); Menander, IX. 229 (III. 376), ἀντεξετάζων τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν πρὸς τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.

[2] E.g. Menander, *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 229 (III. 376), ἤξεις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην σύγκρισιν . . . μετὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν οἱ ἐπίλογοι.

[3] Doxopater, *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 446 f., ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἕνα τόπον τῆς συγκρίσεως ἀποδίδομεν, ἐν παντὶ γὰρ λόγου μέρει χώραν ἔχει . . . αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ κατεσπαρμέναι συγκρίσεις εἰκότως εἰσάγονται πρὸς ἔν τι τῶν πραγμάτων γινομέναι; Priscian, *Rhet. Lat. Min.* II. 556, 23 K., *maximam vero occasionem . . suppeditant comparationes quas pones in quo loco tempus admoneat.*

other historians of antiquity, he accordingly gave this retrospect before relating Agricola's own achievements. It thus enabled the readers to appreciate these at their proper value by having it shown at the very outset how all his predecessors, though a Cerialis and Frontinus were among them, lamentably failed, whereas Agricola, by his tact, his energy, his administrative and military genius, won signal triumphs in the face of tremendous obstacles.

6. Ἐπίλογος. As in the case of the prooemium, the contents of the epilogue were largely left to the discretion of the author, but among the very numerous suggestions given by way of illustration in our rhetorical treatises, from Aristotle down, the element of the pathetic[1] is thought peculiarly appropriate at the close. Tacitus, therefore, availing himself of this latitude, looked about for a model in which the pathetic was a constituent feature. This he found in the so-called παραμυθητικὸς λόγος,[2] or *consolatio*, a form of literary composition highly popular among the ancients.

The most famous of these was a work of the Academic *Crantor* (about 300 B.C.), entitled Περὶ πένθους. It was a veritable storehouse of consolatory sentiments and reflections, and was accordingly put under heavy contributions by later writers of 'consolations.'[3] The epilogue to the *Agricola* partakes precisely of this character; but if we wish to do justice to it, we must always remember that the ancient

[1] Arist. *Rhet.* III. 19, ὁ δ' ἐπίλογος συγκεῖται ἐκ τεττάρων . . . ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰ πάθη τὸν ἀκροατὴν καταστῆσαι.

[2] On its history and development, see Buresch, *Leipz. Stud.* IX. (1886), pp. 1–170, and, for the rules governing its composition, Menander (περὶ παραμυθητικοῦ) *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 281–287 (III. 413–418) and ibid. IX. 288–295 (III. 418–422) dealing περὶ ἐπιταφίου, which has many points in common with the *consolatio* as shown in his discussion.

[3] E.g. Cicero's *Consolatio*, *Tusc. Disput.*, Seneca and Plutarch. See Buresch, l.c.

writer, however fresh his sorrow or pungent his grief, never forgot that he was primarily an artist and hence, while collecting such consolatory commonplaces as seemed called for, he, at the same time, spared no effort in presenting them in stylistically elaborated form. Now the marvelous achievement of Tacitus consists in this. Although many of the pathetic sentiments in the closing paragraph are mere rhetorical τόποι,[1] he has, nevertheless, succeeded in creating an indelible impression of genuine sorrow, affection, and deep sincerity.

We, therefore, conclude that the *Agricola* of Tacitus is exactly what its author says it was — a *eulogistic* biography, constructed, as we have seen, on fairly orthodox rhetorical lines, more particularly in accord with the detailed rules governing the βασιλικὸς λόγος, preserved in Menander's περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, which, though of a late date, merely reflects orthodox, scholastic traditions. But these, in their substance, far antedate the time of Tacitus himself.

III.

THE PURPOSE OF THE AGRICOLA.

Wholly distinct from the discussion of the structural character of the *Agricola*, though habitually confounded with it, is the controversy which has been raised regarding its real purpose. Tacitus, it is true, has here also expressly

[1] See the examples given in the notes ad loc., and Menander, IX. 283 (III. 414), βελτίων ἐστὶ τάχα ἡ μετάστασις τοῦ τῇδε βίου (= ch. 41, 45, 26), ἀπαλλάττουσα πραγμάτων ἀδίκων . . . ἐρεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι εἰ μὲν κέρδος τὸ βιοῦν, ἱκανῶς ἀπολέλαυκε καὶ λέξεις ἃ σύνοιδας περὶ αὐτοῦ (= ch. 44, 26 ff.) . . . ἐξέφυγε τὰ μαρὰ τοῦ βιοῦ (= ch. 44, 4 ff.). — IX. 294 (III. 421), προσθήσεις τινὰ τῷ παραμυθητικῷ συμβουλὴν καὶ ὑποθήκην πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ζηλοῦν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετάς (= ch. 46).

told us that it was a biography of his father-in-law, written as a warm tribute of affection, and inspired by the sincere conviction that his achievements well merited the plaudits of posterity.[1] But modern scholars will not have it so.[2]

Some have maintained that it was a political pamphlet in the guise of an historical monograph, embodying the political platform of a moderate party as opposed to the imperialists on the one hand and the radical republicans on the other. Unfortunately for this hypothesis, we happen to know that no such party organizations ever existed in Rome either in the days of Agricola or during any other period of the empire.

Still another theory,[3] advocated with singular ingenuity and dialectical skill, saw in the *Agricola* only a colorless abstraction, a frantic effort to exculpate a partisan of Domitian, in its hero a political time-server, a *medium ingenium magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus.* Tacitus's work is pronounced to be at the same time a cringing *apologia pro vita sua,* primarily addressed to Trajan, with a view to ingratiating himself with the new régime by brazenly vilifying the old. But this *captatio benevolentiae,* we are told, failed of its purpose. The *Agricola* met with a chilling reception at the hands of the public, as may be inferred from the absolute silence of ancient authors regarding it, and their all but absolute silence concerning its hero; and thus, snubbed and disappointed at not receiving a *proconsular* office, Tacitus disappeared from the political arena. In order to justify this scathing impeachment, Hoffmann does not shrink from manufacturing damaging evidence against Tacitus out of the most innocent utterances, accusing him of intentional suppression of the truth where he is

[1] Ch. 3, 31 f. and 46, 26–31.

[2] See *Proceed. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, l. c.

[3] E. Hoffmann, *Zeitschr. f. oestr. Gymn.* XXI. (1870), pp. 249–275.

brief; of exaggeration where he goes into detail. These inferences have long since been recognized as unwarranted, but it is only recently that Tacitus has been fully vindicated. The unexpected avenger appeared in the shape of the following, apparently insignificant inscription, discovered in 1890, in a remote corner of Asia Minor[1]: Ἴωνες Ἀσιανοὶ ἀνθυπάτῳ Κορνηλίῳ Τακίτῳ, to Cornelius Tacitus the *proconsul*. Thus Hoffmann's indictment only remains as a warning illustration of the aberrations to which an oversubtle ingenuity may lead.

That the *Agricola* does contain a political creed or confession of faith is clear from many passages; indeed, the very preface vibrates with indignation at the memory of the reign of terror. No doubt an unmeasured denunciation of Domitian's rule would have been received with favor. Instead, Tacitus determined to write the life of a man who had lived through this hated régime without either becoming an abettor of Domitian's crimes or his obedient tool, but, on the contrary, showed, in Tacitus's fine phrase, *posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse*, provided they practiced moderation and did not call down upon themselves by futile opposition the wrath of the emperor.[2] That Agricola's temporizing policy of opportunism and silent acquiescence in the existing order of things was made to subserve the hidden purpose of exonerating him (and by implication his biographer) in the eyes of those who were now raging against all who had belonged to Domitian's official family and associates, is clearly a gratuitous assumption. On the contrary, the political atmosphere, so to speak, which pervades the *Agricola* is the same which every reader of the *Histories* and *Annals* breathes, and to remark upon its presence in

[1] At Mylasa in Caria. See now E. Hula and E. Szanto (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Acad.* 1894, p. 18).

[2] Ch. 42, 23 ff.

the earlier work is, therefore, merely tantamount to saying that Tacitus was its author. There is, consequently, no valid reason for not accepting Tacitus's own unequivocal statement regarding the purpose of this biography.

IV.

TACITUS'S SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

That the son-in-law of Agricola was in possession of a very considerable amount of first-hand authentic information concerning Agricola's family, training, and early official career goes without saying. And for the events and data subsequent to Agricola's departure for Britain, Tacitus doubtless also learned innumerable details from the living lips of Agricola himself, although he is cited directly as a source but three times (chs. 4, 15. 24, 13, and 44, 7). Again, many items of information would naturally come to his knowledge as being a contemporary; still others were probably transmitted to him by some who were with Agricola in Britain. For the narrative of the years 89–93, during which the author was absent from Rome, he could also rely upon trustworthy oral testimony furnished to him on his return.

In fact, the only items of information which involve the assumption of a distinctly *literary* source are contained in the survey of the earlier predecessors of Agricola and their military campaigns. What this was cannot be determined. Perhaps *Fabius Rusticus* was one of them, but that detailed narratives were at his disposal is shown by the full account given of some of these events, such as the uprising under Boudicca (ch. 15 f.), in his *Annals*.

The description of the battle at Mt. Graupius, barring a certain historical background, and particularly the speeches

were, as we have seen, largely, if not wholly, works of the creative imagination.

To what extent, finally, books, if any, were consulted for the account of the *ethnology* and *geography*[1] of Britain, it is impossible to determine. Tacitus himself was certainly acquainted with the most important works dealing with these topics, for he singles out *Livy* and *Fabius Rusticus* as the most famous out of many accessible to him,[2] assuring us that their information was scanty and unreliable, he being in possession of more authentic details. Caesar, whom Tacitus styles *summus auctorum* in the *Germania* (ch. 28, 5), seems not to have been consulted, or rather he was intentionally ignored, for he cannot be included among those who *nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere* (ch. 10, 4), a statement in no sense applicable to the short paragraphs which Caesar has devoted to the subject.[3]

That he made direct use of any Greek sources, such as Pytheas of Massilia, Strabo, Diodorus, or even Posidonius, whose works on physical geography and ethnology marked the highest point which scientific research into these subjects reached in antiquity, is extremely doubtful, for Tacitus's explanations of the long days and the tides are unscientific; and in holding to the disk-shaped form of the earth, he is deplorably behind the knowledge even of his own time.

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[1] See the exhaustive treatment of this subject in Furneaux's Introd. to the *Agricola*, pp. 22–34.

[2] Cp. ch. 10, 1 ff.

[3] *B. G.* IV. 33; V. 12–14. Caesar seems to imply that the Britons had cavalry as well as chariot fighters, whereas Tacitus mentions only the latter, whom he calls *covinnarii*, for which Caesar says *essedarii*. But the contradiction is, perhaps, only apparent, for Tacitus is speaking of the Caledonians, Caesar of the Britons in Kent, and what was true of the latter was not necessarily applicable to the former.

V.

STYLE AND RHETORIC.

Tacitus is not only the greatest historian whom Rome produced, but he is also one of the greatest stylistic artists in the world's literature.

Equipped with the most thorough rhetorical training which his time afforded (and without such, it must be remembered, no ancient author, least of all in the post-Augustan age, could hope for recognition or an abiding renown), Tacitus began his career as a writer with the brilliant *Dialogus de oratoribus*. This exhibits the youthful author still completely under the spell of the exuberant diction of Cicero, a return to whose style Quintilian, Tacitus's great teacher, advocated with lifelong enthusiasm, to offset the corrupting influence of Seneca. Nearly twenty years were to elapse before Tacitus broke the silence imposed by the despotism of Domitian with the publication of the *Agricola*. The great difference which confronts us in the style of the two treatises is easily accounted for, but only one of the causes[1] calls for special mention here. The exigencies of artistic prose imperatively demanded a distinctly different treatment for each species of literary composition, a history, an encomium, a speech, or a letter exhibiting a stylistic type peculiarly distinct. Now, when Tacitus designed the *Agricola*, he conformed to existing rhetorical canons for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, or biographical eulogy, as we have seen, but for its stylistic framework he selected as his model the historian *Sallust*.[2] And certainly Sallust's 'immortal swiftness,' his epigrammatic directness and general sty-

[1] On the others, see Introd. to *Dialogus*, pp. xi.–xvii.

[2] *Ann.* III. 30, he is called *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*, with which estimate Martial, Tacitus's contemporary, fully agrees. Cp. Bk. XIV. 191, *Primus Romana Crispus in historia.*

listic originality, may well have exerted a powerful attraction upon a mind such as Tacitus's. But, at the same time, he seems to have been captivated by the nobility of *Vergilian* diction. In the *Histories* and *Annals* he to some extent emancipated himself from the style of Sallust, but the influence of the great poet never waned, remaining conspicuously in evidence in all his works.

In the *Agricola* these two streams still blend in happy harmony, producing a style as far removed from the 'milky richness' of the *Dialogus* as it is from the succinctness of expression in the *Histories*, or the still greater conciseness of the *Annals*. But a man of such literary gifts as Tacitus is never a mere imitator, and hence we find that certain features characteristic of his mature and developed style already appear in the *Agricola*, his earliest treatise of an historical character. The most noteworthy of these are a straining for the utmost brevity, which occasionally resulted in obscurity, and a deliberate avoidance of the commonplace, the trite, or formulaic, which led him to coin new expressions, or to give a novel turn to old ones.

The following survey aims to give in a conveniently tabulated form a collection of the most interesting stylistic and rhetorical features met with in this treatise.[1]

I. COLLOCATIO VERBORUM.

1. *Transposition of cognomen:*

2, 17, Aruleno Rustico, Paetus Thrasea; 45, 15 f., Carus Mettius, Massa Baebius.

2. *Predicate in attributive position:*

10, 22, rariores; 18, 9, nota, proprius; 21, 1, frequens; 22, 14, intrepida; 25, 30, aperto; 32, 20, aegra; 39, 15, imperatoriam; 43, 17, caeca et conrupta; 44, 3 f., incolumi, florente, salvis.

[1] Further comment, whenever called for, as well as a discussion of the syntactical peculiarities, will be found in the commentary.

3. *Predicate precedes* by way of emphasis, thus often obviating an asseverative particle like *profecto, vero, quidem,* etc.:

4, 10, arcebat; 6, 15, vixeruntque; 6, 22, auctus; 8, 22, praeerat; 8, 23, temperavit; 8, 27, habuerunt; 9, 6, credunt plerique; 12, 8, gignit; 16, 20, missus; 16, 25, didicere; 22, 9, adnotabant periti; 33, 25, excepere; 38, 21, satisque constabat. So always except ch. 13, 24 and *Hist.* III. 29; 38, 29, datae; 39, 6, inerat; 40, 2, tradiderat; 40, 26, credidere plerique; 41, 18, insecuta; 41, 25, poscebatur; 42, 4, aderat; 42, 6, accessere; 43, 4, augebat; 44, 20, natus; 45, 12, non vidit; 45, 2, excepissemus. In *asyndetic* collocations: 5, 3 f.; 15, 26 f.; 18, 25 f.; 31, 23 f.; 32, 15 ff.; 34, 5; 44, 3 f.; with *chiasmus* in the last member, 5, 29 ff.; 32, 10 ff.; 38, 17. *Exception:* 2, 5, dedimus profecto. *Generally in ablative absolute constructions,* e.g. 9, 24, comitante; 11, 17, amissa; 18, 2, caesaque; 18, 8, depositis; 18, 13, petita; 28, 6, occiso; 29, 25, praemissa; 35, 9, adloquente; 37, 28, oblatis; 38, 28, acceptis. *Exceptions:* 14, 9; 26, 20; 38, 2; 39, 10; 43, 11; 44, 2.

4. *A word belonging to two other words is generally placed between them:*

1, 4, aliqua; 8, 24, suam; 43, 8, illud; 7, 12, Domitiano; 22, 15, hostibus; 32, 1, res; 32, 13, fulgor; 32, 20, municipia; 33, 8, Britannia; 28, 10, duobus; 3, 32, erit; 43, 3, est; 11, 11, deprehendas; 13, 23, vocabat; 17, 11, amplexus; 20, 21, circumdatae; 42, 6, deerat; 44, 25, crederes; 6, 23; 7, 20; 24, 1; 35, 21; 42, 11, simul; 11, 17, pariter; 15, 26, plerumque; 7, 21, bonos; 13, 20, posteris.

5. *The adjective follows its noun:*

2, 2; 3, 18, humani (ae); 7, 17 f., consularibus, praetorius; but 10, 16; 15, 4; 24, 16; 35, 15, Romanus precedes. This *proper* adjective is very rarely *postpositive* in Tacitus, except with *res,* which habitually precedes its attributive. In 19, 27, *publicae rei* was necessary, because *res publica* has a specific meaning; 33, 1, *secundae res,* because of *adversae* following. See above (4). In 3, 16, *Securitas Publica* is a fixed phrase, like *res publica.* The few other exceptions are due to stylistic reasons; 7, 5, classis Othoniana; 19, 28, studiis privatis (very unusual); 27, 1, loca tuta; 29, 2, pugnae prioris; 32, 3, dominationi alienae; 36, 30, tres, duas; 44, 28, opibus nimiis. The *adjec-*

tival pronouns, on the other hand, are usually *postpositive*, and *primus*, as in 24, 32, nave prima, frequently so.

6. *Ablative absolutes* are very frequently in this work found at the *end* of the sentence:

2, 3. 8; 7, 12; 9, 30; 14, 4. 13; 15, 28; 22, 6; 23, 31; 30, 16; 44, 2.

7. *Anastrophe* is still very rare in the minor writings, the *Agricola* having only one instance:

26, 18, ultro quin etiam. So always in Tacitus, except *Dial.* 29, 16 and *Ann.* XII. 61. — 4, 15, prima in iuventa is not a case in point.

8. *Repetition of preposition*, though not uncommon in Tacitus, is almost wholly confined to *adversative* clauses:

5, 4, de; 5, 10, ex; 8, 1; 32, 29, in; 8, 2, extra.

9. *Anaphora:*

15, 24, nihil; 32, 7 f., nullae . . . nulli; 30, 1, non; 15, 4; 18, 11, qui; 18, 17, hunc . . . has; 25, 27, hinc; 32, 20, hic; 20, 16, ipse; 25, 25, sua . . . suos; 45, 3, noster . . . nostram . . . nobis; 45, 18, nos; 32, 2; 45, 13, tot; 33, 16, quando; 46, 10, si; 46, 26, quidquid; 46, 17, id . . . sic; 19, 30, omnia; 9, 20, procul; 25, 23; 36, 26; 41, 2, simul; 41, 14, absens; 31, 14, cotidie; 40, 5, noctu; 15, 21, aeque; 15, 23, alterius; 45, 22, cum.

10. *Polysyndeton:*

This stylistic device, much more rarely employed than the asyndeton, draws attention to *each single element* in the enumeration; the *asyndeton*, on the other hand, gives a *cumulative effect*, and is especially used in vivid narrative or description: 5, 7 f.; 9, 14; 18, 10; 21, 2; 30, 15; 31, 18. 25; 32, 21; 37, 31; 40, 21; 45, 12. 15; 46, 15.

11. *Asyndeton:*

a. Enumerative: 3, 23 ff.; 5, 3 ff.; 12, 28 ff.; 15, 27. 30. 2; 16, 2; 18, 26; 21, 27; 30, 4; 31, 10 (in symmetrical groups); 32, 15 ff. 18; 34, 5 ff.; 36, 16; 37, 27; 38, 17 ff. 23 f.; 40, 10; 43, 29; 44, 3 f.; 45, 1. With *chiasmus* in the last member to round off the period: 5, 28 ff.; 28, 10; 32, 11; 33, 14 (double chiasmus); 36, 6 ff.

b. Adversative, usually composed of two members, and often symmetrically balanced: 3, 19. 27; 10, 10; 12, 21. 26. 4; 13, 23 (chiastic); 15, 21. 30; 16, 31; 19, 31; 20, 15; 21, 27; 22, 13; 25, 1 (chiastic); 27, 29; 30, 18; 33, 6. 16; 39, 7; 41, 30.

c. In Tacitus an *asyndetic* group is often followed by an *et* clause (more rarely *ac* or *atque*), contrary to classic usage. In all the instances in the *Agricola*, the *last* member thus added is *amplified*, and either adds a *new idea* or *sums up:* 9, 13; 11, 5; 13, 29; 17, 6; 20, 17; 31, 23 (ac); 36, 6 (chiastic); 37, 28 (atque); 41, 27.

12. *Chiasmus:*

2, 3; 5, 1. 6 f. 28; 8, 23 f.; 10, 7; 12, 12; 13, 23; 17, 15; 19, 6; 20, 15; 24, 14; 25, 1; 28, 10; 32, 11; 33, 14; 36, 6. 27; 39, 12; 41, 2; 42, 12 f.; 43, 1 f. 8; 44, 6; 45, 25 f.; 46, 12.

13. *Alliteration:*

This device is conspicuous in all archaic poetry, for the Greek constitutes only an apparent exception, inasmuch as the Homeric and Hesiodic epics, though they represent for us the beginning of Greek literature, are themselves the flower of a long development. In Latin, Lucretius is the last great poet to employ alliteration to any noticeable extent, even Vergil using it but sparingly. In *prose*, excepting a number of formulaic or proverbial expressions, it seems to have been intentionally avoided, except in Tacitus, who throughout all his writings from the *Dialogus* down, evinces a peculiar fondness for such collocations, often using them with special effect to emphasize an *antithesis:*

33, 10, flumina fatigarent, fortissimi; 42, 22, famam fatumque; 46, 20, formamque ac figuram; 36, 1, mucrones ac manus; 6, 23, subsidium simul et solacium; 16, 31, seditio sine sanguine stetit; 39, 17, secreto suo satiatus; 34, 29, silvas saltusque; 1, 4, virtus vicit; 18, 18, victoriam vocabat victos; 33, 12, vota virtusque; 27, 2, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspiratione civitatum sancirent (double); and especially noteworthy: 46, 29, veterum velut — inglorios . . . ignobiles — oblivio obruit. *In antithesis:* 5, 10, ex magna fama quam ex mala; 8, 1, virtute . . . verecundia; 11, 12, in deposcendis . . . in detrectandis; 19, 32, poena . . . paenitentia; 22, 23, offendere . . . odisse; 33, 12, victoribus . . . victis; 41, 14, accusatus . . . absolutus; 41, 2, virtutibus . . . vitiis; 43, 18, patre . . . principem.

14. *Libration:*

A symmetrical collocation of words and clauses was one of the three prerequisites of an artistic style.[1] It accordingly constitutes one of the conspicuous features, particularly of the smaller works of Tacitus, in which he had not yet emancipated himself from earlier models. The later writings (excepting the speeches), owing to their studied conciseness, did not admit of so careful an equilibrium of clauses. While the numerous instances in the *Agricola* are, to some extent, directly due to the *antithetical* form in which the author is fond of casting his thoughts, his design to *librate* them stylistically is made manifest by the frequent accumulation of *synonyms* and a certain *fullness* of expression which subserve the purpose referred to. In the later writings, with the comparatively rarer occurrence of libration, these features are also no longer so prominent. The most noteworthy instances in this treatise are found in: 2, 19. 3. 6; 3, 16. 19; 5, 30; 8, 1; 9, 20; 10, 25 f.; 11, 12; 12, 26. 5. 12; 13, 15; 15, 19 f. 21 f.; 19, 30 f.; 21, 26 f.; 25, 26 ff.; 26, 20; 27, 29 f.; 30, 17 f. 23 f. 1; 31, 10 f. 15 f.; 32, 1. 15 f.; 33, 6 f. 13; 34, 25 f.; 38, 16 ff. 23; 40, 5; 41, 29; 43, 29; 44, 24 f. 28. 3 f.; 45, 15. 18. 25; 46, 15 f. 22. 26 f. 27 f. 29.

15. *Synonyms:*

The accumulation of virtually synonymous expressions is characteristic of Latin writers generally. It was primarily due to rhetorical and not rarely to rhythmical reasons. In T. examples are particularly abundant in the minor writings, the *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* containing about the same number of instances, while the *Germania*, owing doubtless to its scientific character, has only about one-half as many: 1, 3. 4. 7. 16; 2, 3 f.; 3, 17. 29; 4, 11. 14. 17 f. 18. 19; 6, 26; 8, 28; 9, 12; 10, 9. 28; 12, 22 f.; 14, 6; 15, 26; 16, 30. 4; 18, 14; 19, 1; 20, 21 f.; 21, 26; 29, 23 f. 7; 30, 17. 24. 28; 31, 9 f. 12. 25; 32, 5. 30 f. 20; 33, 7. 8. 15. 18 f. 23; 34, 4; 36, 1. 4. 18; 40, 2. 4. 9; 41, 25. 30 f.; 42, 25; 43, 30 f.; 44, 9; 45, 14; 46, 14. 20. 29. 30.

16. *Pleonastic phrases:*

1, 2 f. temporibus . . . actas; 3, 12, primo statim . . . ortu; 3, 27, exactae aetatis terminos; 5, 23, prima . . . rudimenta; 7, 6, hostiliter populatur; 8, 26, brevi deinde; 16, 3, innocens . . . nullis delictis;

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[1] The other two are *euphony* and *rhythm*. See especially the famous chapters in Cic. *Orat.* XLI. 140 ff.

22, 6, formidine territi; 22, 16, soliti plerumque; 37, 23, pulsos in fugam; and perhaps 28, 8, adactis per vim.

17. It is a peculiarity of Tacitus to combine *two* nouns of *similar* meaning, so that the *second,* very rarely the first, is a *specific* term more closely defining or merely emphasizing the *other:*

2, 21, comitio ac foro (but see note); 8, 28, labores et discrimina; 9, 12, conventus ac iudicia; 12, 2, caelum et sidera; 13, 20, bella . . . arma; 21, 1, habitus nostri . . . toga; 33, 7, fama et rumore; 25, 32; 33, 18, manus et arma; 30, 17, proelium atque arma; 31, 12, verbera ac contumelias; 32, 13, adspectus et . . . fulgor; 39, 8, habitus et crines; 40, 12, viso adspectoque; 41, 22, limite imperii et ripa; 45, 14, exilia et fugas.

18. Akin to this usage is the *collocation* of *two* substantives by an epexegetic *et,* rarely *ac* or *atque:*

1, 5, ignorantiam recti et invidiam; 4, 21, ratio et aetas; 5, 27, voluptates et conmeatus; 5, 6, summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria; 6, 28, et silentium; 16, 13, ira et victoria; 26, 11, inter somnum ac trepidationem; 29, 4, legationibus et foederibus; 30, 24, recessus ipse ac sinus famae; 43, 30, vulgus . . . et hic populus; 45, 23, vultus et rubor.

19. *Hypallage:*

4, 9, omnem honestarum artium cultum, used to avoid a double attributive.

20. *Prolepsis:*

12, 22, nunc per principes (= nunc principibus per quos); 15, 20, e quibus legatus . . . procurator (= legatum . . . procuratorem, e quibus ille . . . hic); 39, 5, ut Domitiano moris erat . . . excepit (= Domitianus ut ei moris erat . . . excepit).

21. *Climax:*

18, 11; 30, 15. 26 ff. 3 ff.

II. BRACHYLOGY.

1. *Comparatio compendiaria:*

12, 29; 21, 30; 24, 9.

2. *Ellipsis of substantives:*

4, 4, senatorii ordinis (sc. vir); 4, 8, rarae castitatis (sc. mulier); 16, 23, nullis . . . experimentis (vir). So regularly in genitive and ablatives of quality; 8, 26; 14, 1; 40, 25, consularem (sc. legatum); 8, 29, conmunicabat (sc. cum Agricola); 10, 20, perinde (sc. atque cetera maria); 12, 32, exsurgere (sc. solem); 18, 19, laureatis (sc. litteris); 20, 13, priorum (sc. ducum); 25, 19, amplexus (sc. bello); 25, 5, cognoscit (sc. Agricola); 27, 24, cuius (sc. victoriae); 28, 8, liburnicas (sc. naves); 35, 16, pellerentur (sc. auxilia); 41, 23, possessione (sc. provinciarum); 42, 12, compositus (sc. vultum); 43, 2, locuti sunt (sc. de morte Agricolae); 43, 4, oblitus (sc. mortis); 44, 21, excessit (sc. vita), the full form in Tacitus, only *Hist.* IV. 75; 44, 22, decimo.

3. *Ellipsis of adjective:*

6, 29, et [cetera] inania; 13, 14, [cetera] iniuncta; 28, 12, [cetera] utilia; 44, 2, dignitate (sc. senatoria).

4. *Ellipsis of demonstrative pronoun:*

6, 19, dedit (ei); 11, 9, habitum (eum); 44, 8, evasisse (eum); 45, 21, videre (eum) . . . adspici (ab eo).

5. *Ellipsis of particles:*

8, 31; 11, 18; 12, 11. 28; 18, 7; 24, 8; 31, 14; 33, 16; 37, 10; 38, 16; 39, 15; 46, 24. 30 (sed). For other omissions of *sed*, and of *et*, see Asyndeton (I. 11). 13, 15 [nam] has; 25, 32 [igitur] ad arma.

6. *Ellipsis of Verbs:*

a. Of doing, saying, seeing, etc: 11, 1, ut inter barbaros [esse solet]; 18, 7, ut in . . . consiliis [fieri solet]; 10, 21, credo [id fieri]; 19, 27, nihil . . . [agi]; 15, 18, accendere [dicebant enim]; 27, 25, invium [esse putabant]; 10, 8, nullis contra terris [positis]; 30, 15, nullae ultra terrae [positae], cp. 11, 5; 11, 2, ex eo [petuntur]; 10, 12, unde [oriebatur]. So regularly after unde, inde, hinc; 18, 1, ipse . . . [incedens]; 13, 21, oblivio [sequebatur]; 2, 7, nos [vidimus]; 21, 1, toga [adspiciebatur]; 33, 27, fulgores [adspiciebantur];

37, 27, spectaculum [adspiciebatur]; 37, 32, ira . . . [redit]; 17, 6, duces [exstiterunt]; 20, 14, multus [adfuit]; 4, 17, hausisse [et hausturum fuisse]; 13, 23, agitasse . . . [et agitaturum fuisse]; 37, 20, circumire . . . [et circumissent]; 10, 19, hactenus [progredi]; 39, 8, triumphum [reportatum].

b. The omission of the copula. Tacitus omits the *infinitive* and *indicative* forms whenever possible, the minor writings furnishing, however, only about one-half as many instances of this ellipsis as the *Histories* and *Annals.* The *subjunctive* of *esse*, on the other hand, is in comparison rarely suppressed, and if it is, some *other subjunctive* is generally found in the same sentence, thus avoiding any possible ambiguity: 13, 24, ni velox ingenio [fuisset] . . . fuissent; 23, 27, si . . . pateretur, inventus [esset]; 24, 16, ubique arma [essent] et . . . tolleretur; 35, 14, ingens victoriae [= si vincerent] decus . . . auxilium, si pellerentur (sc. auxilia); 6, 20, parata [esset] . . . et proconsul . . . redempturus esset; 9, 12, ubi conventus . . . poscerent . . . misericors [erat]: ubi officio satis factum [esset], nulla . . . persona [erat]; 4, 16, concessum [esset]; 18, 25, quamquam . . . [esset]; 26, 20, donec pulsi [essent]. In 6, 30, propior (ὤν); 7, 19, incertum (ὄν), the ellipsis is due to a lack of a participle of *esse.*

7. *Zeugma:*

This is the use of a verb with two substantives, or groups of substantives, though in meaning applicable to but one. In such constructions another verb of *kindred* signification must be supplied from the verb expressed. Tacitus furnishes some very bold examples of this brachylogy, but they are mainly confined to the later works. Those in the *Agricola* offer no difficulty: 3, 16, spem ac votum (sc. conceperit) . . . robur adsumpserit; 12, 11, arbitrantur nam . . . conlegi (sc. constat); 12, 12, naturam . . . deesse . . . avaritiam (sc. abesse); 13, 14 f., dilectum (sc. ferunt) . . . tributa (sc. faciunt) . . . munera . . . obeunt; 25, 23, terra (sc. gereretur) . . . mari bellum impelleretur; 39, 11, inerat conscientia . . . fuisse . . . id sibi maxime formidolosum [esse videbatur]; 41, 30, amore et fide [adhortabantur] . . . malignitate et livore . . . exstimulabant; 45, 18, nos . . . visus [foedavit], nos . . . sanguine Senecio perfudit (where see note).

8. Ἀπὸ κοινοῦ:

This is a kind of brachylogy, in which *one* term is employed in *different* meanings. It is a figure akin to *zeugma*, but is generally of

much rarer occurrence. Cp. 18, 16, nec; 20, 21, circumdatae; 25, 6; circumiretur; 31, 12, conteruntur; 32, 24, extremos; 38, 1, secunda, with notes ad loc.

9. *Constructio praegnans:*

See notes. ch. 44, 30, impleverat, and 44, 7, ominabatur.

10. *Noteworthy instances of conciseness:*

1, 6, ut agere digna . . . in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus (= ut agere, ita scribere digna . . . in aperto erat, nam celeberrimus); 1, 10, plerique . . . narrare, arbitrati sunt (= plerique . . . narraverunt idque . . . a. s.); 3, 18, ut corpora . . . sic . . . revocaveris (= ut c. . . . sic ingenia . . . lente . . . exstinguuntur quae . . . revocaveris); 4, 13, locum . . . compositum, where see note; 5, 23 ff., rudimenta adprobavit (= r. ita posuit ut . . . adprobaret); 9, 21, vincere et adteri (= v. . . . et vinci eoque adteri); 10, 14, spatium . . . tenuatur (= s. est . . . idque . . . tenuatur); 10, 20, mare . . . grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis, etc. (= mare . . . esse perhibent ac ne ventis); 12, 8, gignit et Oceanus; 15, 23, alterius manus; 18, 7, naves deerant; 18, 10, ita repente inmisit; 25, 29, Britannos quoque, etc., with notes ad loc; 31, 15 ff., servorum vilis est, qui etiam conservis ludibrio est sic etiam . . . famulatu (recentissimus quisque vilis est), quare novi nos et viles, etc.; 39, 10, victoriam . . . celebrari (= victoriam reportatam esse quae celebraretur) 44, 6.

III. INCONCINNITY.

This term is applied to a tendency already noticeable in Livy, but especially characteristic of Tacitus, to *avoid*, for the sake of *variety, normal collocations* or *stereotyped phrases.* It is extremely rare in the *Dialogus*, written as it was under the complete influence of Cicero. The *Germania*, being a more or less scientific treatise, also exhibits but few instances. In the rhetorically elaborated *Agricola* numerous examples occur, but they are as yet confined within narrow limits. In the *Histories*, and in the *Annals, inconcinnity* has become a much more conspicuous feature, and its increasing prominence thus furnishes a good illustration, out

of many, of the *genetic* development of Tacitus's style. As yet diffident and all but capricious in the *minor* writings, it gradually matures into a *systematic* device and is handled with consummate skill to subserve definite rhetorical ends.

1. *Concrete noun added to abstract:*

4, 8, sinu indulgentiaque; 4, 12, sedem ac magistram; 20, 21, praesidiis castellisque . . . ratione curaque; 24, 10, per conmercia et negotiatores; 25, 25, copiis et laetitia; 25, 6, numero et peritia; 28, 7, exemplum et rectores; 30, 20, spem ac subsidium; 30, 24, terrarum et libertatis; 33, 7, a fama . . . rumore — castris et armis; 36, 8, aemulatione et impetu; 37, 11, nox et satietas; 38, 15, gaudio praedaque; 46, 25, materiam et artem.

2. *Case and prepositional phrase:*

This is most frequent with *per:* 6, 15, per mutuam caritatem . . . se anteponendo; 9, 19, ostentanda virtute aut per artem; 19, 22, animorum . . . prudens . . . doctus per experimenta; 28, 18, per conmercia . . . mutatione; 31, 7 ff., per dilectus . . . nomine; 41, 20 f., temeritate aut per ignaviam; 46, 25, per . . . materiam et artem . . . moribus; 44, 9, per intervalla . . . uno ictu; 1, 12, citra fidem . . . obtrectationi; 19, 28, studiis . . . ex conmendatione; 22, 21, comis bonis . . . adversus malos iniucundus; 31, 10, in tributum . . . in frumentum . . . silvis; 35, 24, promptior in spem, firmus adversis (where see note); 42, 12, paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus.

3. *Comparative followed by positive:*

4, 20, vehementius quam caute (see note).

4. *Variation of preposition:*

5, 29 f., in iactationem . . . ob formidinem; 24, 3, in spem . . . ob formidinem.

5. *Noun and subordinate clause:*

9, 25, nullis . . . sermonibus, sed quia; 10, 2, non in comparationem, sed quia.

6. *Adjective or participle and case:*

4, 4, senatorii ordinis . . . notus; 16, 23, segnior et nullis . . . experimentis; 37, 9, agminibus . . . respectantes; 38, 16, palantes . . . ploratu.

7. *Avoidance of commonplace expressions:*

6, 28, ludos *duxit* for *fecit* on the analogy of *pompam ducere;* 16, 9, sumpsere *bellum* for *arma;* 37, 30, terga *praestare*, a new coinage for *dare*, *praebere;* 45, 28, pro virili *portione* in place of *parte.*

8. *Reference to part of an antecedent:*

10, 22; 12, 32; 13, 21 (where see notes).

IV. POETICAL AND FIGURATIVE FEATURES.

As already remarked, the two authors who exerted the greatest influence upon the style and vocabulary of Tacitus are *Vergil* and *Sallust;* but, indisputable as this is, we must guard against the temptation of regarding all striking parallelisms as so many direct reminiscences. Many Vergilian phrases, and the same is true of Sallust, had, by the time Tacitus composed the *Agricola*, become common property. In fact, if the prose of the post-Augustan age be distinguished from the Ciceronian period by one feature more than another, it is its profound indebtedness to the language of the poets,[1] Livy, whose phraseology is also under heavy obligations to Vergil, standing at the threshold of this movement. In the following some of the more noteworthy of the stylistic parallelisms between Tacitus and earlier writers, pointed out in the Notes, are briefly summarized:

a. Vergil: 3, 20, subit; 5, 2, non alias; 5, 23, castrorum rudimenta; 6, 29; 12, 4; 43, 12, medius, patiens, securus, with genitive; 8, 25, peritus, with infinitive; 10, 13, use of ingens; 12, 10, saxis avelli; 13, 29, monstratus fatis (Aen. VI. 869); 14, 14, rebellibus;

[1] Cp. *Dial.* 20, 4 f., *Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor.*

15, 24, exceptum (Aen. IX. 271); 18, 26, praesumere as a passive (Aen. XI. 18); 25, 27, hinc . . . hinc (Aen. I. 500); 29, 6, adfluebat; 29, 7, cruda ac viridis senectus; 37, 32, aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque; 39, 16, curis exercitus (Aen. V. 779); 42, 22, famam fatumque; 45, 5, honori.

b. Horace: 15, 21, aeque . . . aeque; 18, 26, tarda (active); 34, 1, numerus.

c. Ovid: 15, 19, ex facili; 21, 25, in bella faciles; 31, 22, sumite animum.

d. Lucan, for whom Tacitus appears to have had a special fondness, has left his traces, perhaps, in 25, 24 ff. = IV. 196 ff.; 38, 25, incerta fugae vestigia; 38, 27, spargi bellum.

e. Sallust: Cp. ch. 1–3 and Cat. 3 f., Iug. 3 f.; ch. 4 ff. and Cat. 5; Iug. 3 f.; ch. 5 and Iug. 5; ch. 10–17 and Iug. 17–19; the speeches in chs. 31–33 and Cat. 51 f.; Mithridates' letter (fragm. IV. 17). *Phraseological parallelisms* would doubtless have been found in still greater abundance, if Sallust's *Histories* had been preserved entire. Cp. ch. 5, 4; 26, 18 = Iug. 114, 2; ch. 11, 30 = Iug. 17, 7; ch. 12, 4 = Hist. fragm. I. 9 (10); ch. 18, 1 = Cat. 59, 1; ch. 18, 4 = Cat. 53, 1. Iug. 92, 1; ch. 18, 23 = Iug. 84, 3. 100, 4; ch. 20, 17 = Iug. 88, 2; ch. 26, 13 = Cat. 45, 1; ch. 27, 29 = Iug. 53, 8; ch. 30, 12 = Cat. 58, 18; ch. 32, 29 = Hist. fragm. IV. 61 (19), 7; ch. 33, 13 = Cat. 58, 9 f. Iug. 114, 2; ch. 36, 16 = Hist. fragm. I. 104 (96); ch. 37, 26 f. = Iug. 101, 11.

f. Livy: Tacitus does not seem to have been under great or conscious obligations to Livy, for of the parallelisms recorded in the Notes many are probably due to their common indebtedness to Vergil. The speeches of Hannibal and Scipio at Ticinum in particular and the battle descriptions do indeed exhibit numerous structural and stylistic resemblances to passages in the *Agricola;* but here, too, it is doubtful to what extent they merely represent stereotyped commonplaces of the rhetorical vernacular.

g. Curtius: The numerous coincidences between ch. 30–38 and Curtius are, again, mainly confined to his speeches, and are, therefore, with greater likelihood explained on the assumption of similar rhetorical models than by direct indebtedness on the part of Tacitus. Cp. esp. Curt. IV. 3, 9 ff. and ch. 33; III. 8, 10 and ch. 34, 29 f.; VII. 8, 34, 19 and ch. 32, 29.

h. The remarkable parallelisms with Isocrates' *Euagoras* and Xenophon's *Agesilaus* are probably not actual reminiscences, for

these two treatises are frequently cited as stock models for biographical encomia by ancient rhetoricians. Cp. ch. 44, 1, and Isoc. *Euag.* 28; ch. 46, and ibid. 1. 75; ch. 22, 21, and Xen. *Ages.* 11, 10; ch. 45, 25 f. and ibid. 5, 3; ch. 46, 22, and ibid. 11, 14. Cp. Introd., p. x.

i. A number of *figurative* expressions not hitherto mentioned also contribute their share in giving to this treatise its noteworthy poetical and rhetorical coloring, many of the *metaphors* and *personifications* being of a very bold character, generally coined by the author, or at least not found elsewhere, or extremely rare: 1, 4, virtus vicit ac supergressa est; 9, 24, comitante opinione; 10, 29, montibus inseri velut in suo (sc. mari); 11, 16, segnitia cum otio intravit; 14, 15, terga occasioni patefecit; 16, 26, vitiis blandientibus; 18, 25, transvecta aestas; 20, 12, famam paci circumdedit; 22, 14, intrepida hiems; 30, 24, recessus . . . sinus famae . . . defendit; 30, 23, a contactu, etc.; 31, 14, Britannia emit . . . pascit; 31, 27, Caledonia . . . viros seposuerit; 33, 1, virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani; 33, 7, fama . . . rumore . . . tenemus; 33, 12, vota virtusque in aperto; 34, 27, furto noctis; 34, 5, imponite . . . annis magnum diem; 36, 4, gladii . . . tolerabant; 38, 22, dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; 38, 30, praecesserat terror; 40, 9, otium . . . hausit; 41, 2 f. in gloriam ipsam praeceps agebatur; 44, 9 f. per spiramenta temporum . . . uno ictu rem publicam exhausit; 45, 22, suspiria nostra subscriberentur; 45, 28, innocentia . . . donares.

j. Finally, a list of the few ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in this treatise may be given, i.e. words either first found in Tacitus or used by him in new meanings: 3, 14, dissociabilis in the sense of incompatible; 5, 2, anxius; 10, 4, percoluere = exornavere; 10, 7, obtenditur; 12, 12, natura, good quality; 19, 6, devortia; 19, 31, conmodare = adhibere; 20, 23, inlacessita; 35, 13, cornibus adfunderentur; 35, 19, covinnarius; 42, 20, inrevocabilis = implacabilis; 45, 7, comploratus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Roman Emperors.		Governors of Britain.	Life of Agricola.	Life of Tacitus.
30 B.C.–14 A.D.	Augustus			
14–37	Tiberius			
37–41	Caligula			
41–54	Claudius			
		44. Aulus Plautius		
		47. Ostorius Scapula		
		51. Didius Gallus		
			40 (June 13). Birth	
54–68	Nero			54/55. Birth
		57. Q. Veranius		
		58. Suetonius Paulinus	58. First military service (in Britain)	
		61. Petronius Turpilianus	61. Marriage	
		63. Trebellius Maximus	63. Quaestor	
			Birth and death of son	
			64. Birth of daughter	
			66. Tribunus plebis	
68–69	Galba, Otho, Vitellius		67 (68). Praetor	
			69. Murder of his mother	
69–79	Vespasian	69. Vettius Bolanus	Legatus praetorius (in Britain)	
		71. Petilius Cerialis		
			73. Patrician	73 (?). Pupil of Quintilian
		74. Julius Frontinus	74–76. Propraetor in Aquitania	74/75. Studied under M. Aper and J. Secundus
		77. C. Julius Agricola	77. Consul suffectus	77/78. Married to Agricola's daughter
			77/8. Governor of Britain	78/79. Tribunus militum (?)
79–81	Titus			79–81. Publication of the *Dialogus*.
81–96	Domitian			80 (?). Quaestor
			83. Death of son	
			Battle at Mt. Graupius	
			84/85. Recall	88. Praetor
		85. Sallustius Lucullus (?)	91. Compelled to refuse proconsulship	89–93. Absent from Rome as propraetor of a province (?)
			93. (Aug. 13). Death.	97. Consul
96–98	Nerva			98. Publication of the *Agricola* and *Germania*
98–117	Trajan			100. Accused Marius Priscus
				105–109. Publication of *Histories*
				c. 112. Proconsul of Asia
				c. 116. Publication of *Annals*
				117 (?). Death

P. CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

IULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER.

Introduction.

1. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus conmune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores, ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

2. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac

foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

3. Nunc demum redit animus et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabilis miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas Publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus! Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

Birthplace, Parents, Early Training.

4. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater illi Iulius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, eisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultraque quam concessum Romano [ac senatori], hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

Military Training.

5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et conmeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in

iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias excitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentis interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

Official Career up to the Consulship.

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem (Salvium Titianum) dedit quorum neutro conruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapienta fuit. Idem praeturae † certior et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio (moderationis) atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum

electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

7. (Sequens annus) gravi vulnere animum domumque eius adflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partis transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

8. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne increscerent peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam conmunicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat.

Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

9. Revertentem ab legatione legionis Divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae imprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile iusteque agebat. Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis intentus severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona; tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat. Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus conlegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores et vincere inglorium et adteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur.

Haud sémper errat fáma; aliquando et élegit.

Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum conlocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

Geography and Ethnology of Britain.

10. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Cāledōniam, unde et in universum fama. Sed transgressis et inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde adtolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint,

indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis usu, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas ac superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.

12. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum conmune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, adspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed

transire adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, frugum patiens, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. Gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in Rubro Mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, conligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

The Previous Attempts to conquer Britain.

13. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum Divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id Divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Q. Veranius excepit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut viris rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.

15. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. Alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi. Sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut Divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem

maiorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

16. His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne, quamquam egregius cetera, adroganter in deditos et ut suae quisqueque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata, exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem et seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc

civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus et minuta hostium spes. [et] Terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantium civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa proelia et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

Agricola's Administration of Britain (78–83 A.D.).

18. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. Et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant,

ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, a cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in dubiis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et proprius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex conmendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem conmodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse;

officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

20. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus incitamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae et tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars pariter inlacessita transierit.

21. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnis: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam

habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque descensum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

22. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones, nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus inconruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, et ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

23. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, submotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgres-

sus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam adspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt [in melius]. Aditus portusque per conmercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

25. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebat, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus adtollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceănus militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes

populi, paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus inrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partis exercitu incessit.

26. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus inrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientis texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

27. Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. Atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute se, sed occasione et arte ducis victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem

armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. Atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

Adventure of the Usipian Cohort.

28. Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus qui ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno retro remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per conmercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

Revolt of the Caledonians.

29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit, sed in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit,

quem iam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum viris exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia armatorum adspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter pluris duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

Speech of Calgacus.

30. 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum, inminente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora adspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur; si

locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant.'

31. 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam arma laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'

32. 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus

ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem conmodent, diutius tamen hostis quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantis, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus adspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. Adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentis et iniuste imperantis aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

Speech of Agricola.

33. Excepere orationem alacres et, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'septimus annus est, conmili-

tones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesque et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: 'quando dabitur hostis, quando † animus?' veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. Nam et superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ⟨item⟩ fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt; neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut conmeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me adtinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors, turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.'

34. 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites. Quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruēre, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reli-

quus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremus metus corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.'

Battle at Mount Graupius.

35. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentisque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

36. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes tris ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus

est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormis gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in collis aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae, ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. Et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque † aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum † aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum [vacui] sperne-bant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira

virtusque. Postquam silvis adpropinquaverunt, identidem primos sequentium incautos conlecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortis indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

38. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi adspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. Satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in finis Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse pedites atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul

classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde, proximo Britanniae litore lecto omni, redierat.

Recall of Agricola.

39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur, at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis adtolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne adpellato quidem eo ad Domiti-

anum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso adspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

Life in Retirement. Attitude of Domitian.

41. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querella laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem [et] constantiam et expertum belli animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque auris verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et

livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

42. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces se excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen proconsulare solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

Agricola's Death (93 A.D.).

43. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus

quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, quod firmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus, per nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animi vultu[que] prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et conrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

Reflections on the Opportuneness of his Death.

44. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule Idibus Iuniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Conlega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac

triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat, filia atque uxore superstitibus? potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicut ei non licuit durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

45. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat et Massa Baebius nondum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et adspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Epilogue.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod

adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque et domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione potius et inmortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine te colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, in fama rerum. Nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

I do the second Chapter in the Annals.

NOTES.

Chapter 1. 2. usitatum: the neuter singular of the perfect passive participle is frequently used substantively, taking the place of a relative clause. As the object and in apposition, as here, e.g. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 23, *machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi.* **quamquam** with a participle, or more rarely with an adjective, occasionally occurs in earlier Latin, e.g. Cic. *de fin.* V. 23, 68; Sall. *Iug.* 43, 1; Liv. IV. 53, 1. Tacitus has more than seventy instances.

3. suorum: neuter. — With this often repeated sentiment, cp. *Ann.* II. 88, *dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*; and the exx. cited, *Dial.* 15, 23; 18, 3. **aetas**: the personification, especially common with expressions denoting time, lessens the tautology occasioned by the use of *temporibus.*

4. aliqua: belonging to both *magna* and *nobilis*, is, according to a noteworthy usage of Tacitus, placed between the modified words. So *magis* below. See *Introd.* p. xxvi. **virtus vicit . . . vitium**: observe the alliteration, of which Tacitus makes a more extensive use than any previous prose writer. See *Introd.* p. xxviii. **supergressa est**: a post-Augustan expression, somewhat stronger than *vicit.*

5. ignorantiam recti et invidiam: *the inability to recognize true merit and consequent envy.* — The *et* is epexegetic, as e.g. *Dial.* 5, 26, *accinctus et minax*, where see note. In this treatise again ch. 5, 1; 6, 16; 21, 1; 30, 24; 43, 30. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. — With the thought, cp. *Dial.* 40, 3 and the exx. there cited.

6. priores: i.e. in the days of the Republic. So generally in Tacitus. See note on *vetus*, ch. 2, 6.

7. pronum magisque in aperto: metaphors taken from a field which lies open and offers no obstacles to advancement, i.e. those times were favorable and gave free scope to memorable achievement. Similarly ch. 33, 13, and frequently in earlier writers. — On the position of *magis*, see above, l. 4. — On the accumulation of virtually

synonymous expressions occurring with constantly decreasing frequency from the *Dialogus* to the second part of the *Annals*, see *Introd.* p. xxix. — On the brachylogy in this sentence, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **celeberrimus quisque ingenio** = *clarissima ingenia. Ingenium* is not used in the singular in a personal sense, hence *celeberrimum quodque ingenium* was impossible here. *Celeber* = *clarus* seems to occur first in *Tibull.* II. 1, 33.

8. sine gratia aut ambitione: i.e. without the desire of currying favor or from selfish motives. Our knowledge of the historians of the Republic, particularly the later annalists, does not bear out this favorable view.

9. bonae . . . conscientiae pretio: i.e. by the reward that waits on duty well performed. Cp. *Ann.* II. 22. — *pretio* = *praemio.*

10. plerique: *many.* This weakened sense is the more usual in Tacitus and in post-Augustan Latin generally. **suam ipsi**: for *suam ipsos* (= *suam ipsorum*). We should have expected *ipsos* (subj. of *narrare*) in accordance with Tacitus's custom of making *ipse*, when combined with a personal or possessive pronoun, the subj. For an instance of the usage with a finite verb, see ch. 46, 25. — Observe that two ideas here coalesce into one. (*a*) They wrote autobiographies. (*b*) They did not think it open to censure to do so. — On the conciseness of this clause, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

11. Rutilio et Scauro: *P. Rutilius Rufus*, born about 158 B.C., cons. 105 B.C., a distinguished orator, jurist, historian, and pupil of the Stoic Panaetius. In 93 B.C. he was accused by one Apicius of extortion. Besides his autobiography, orations, and legal publications, he composed a Roman History in Greek. He is extravagantly praised by Cicero and others. — *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, his bitter opponent, was born 162 B.C., and died about 89 B.C. His autobiography, in three books, seems to have been an *apologia pro vita sua.* — **et** for *aut*, partly because these men are closely associated as contemporaries and autobiographers, partly owing to the *aut* following. It must be observed, however, that the Latin, as well as the Greek, has a peculiar fondness for the copulative conjunction, where our idiom prefers the disjunctive particle. Cp. e.g. *δύο καὶ τρεῖς* (two *or* three); ch. 29, 24; *Germ.* 19, *conrumpere et conrumpi; Ann.* II. 10.

12. citra = *sine.* Though extremely common in post-Augustan Latin, especially in Quintilian, this usage is found in Tacitus only in the minor works. — On the collocation of a prepositional clause, and an ablative or dative, one of the noteworthy features of Tacitean

style, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. **adeo**, etc.: the confirmation of a concrete statement by the wider generalization of an admitted truth is characteristic of Tacitus and Livy. Cp. *Dial.* 26, *adeo melius est*, etc.

14. At nunc: i.e. under the circumstances; as it is. In this non-temporal sense the adverb, as νυν in Greek, is very common. **narraturo**, etc.: to the ancients a *narratio vitae* implied a more or less *eulogistic* treatment, hence the phrase here constitutes the proper antithesis called for by *incusaturus*. **opus fuit**: similar to the epistolary perfect, the author putting himself into the place of the reader. Cp. *Ann.* III. 65, *exsequi sententias haud institui.* — The meaning of this much disputed passage appears to be this: In treating of the life of Agricola, which I do, because I believe it to be the function of the historian *ne virtutes sileantur* (*Ann.* III. 65), I had to crave an indulgence, which I should not have asked, if I had intended to impeach the age of Domitian, for *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur* (*Hist.* I. 1).

Chapter 2. **17. Lĕgimus**: i.e. in the official *acta senatus*, so that there was no reason for doubting what might otherwise have seemed incredible. **Aruleno Rustico**: *L. Iunius Rusticus Arulenus*, a distinguished Stoic of the time of Nero, was executed by Domitian in 94 A.D. for writing the biography here mentioned, in which he spoke of Thrasea and Helvidius as *sanctissimi viri.* — The transposition of the cognomen, still rare in pre-Augustan Latin, is particularly frequent in Tacitus. See note *Dial.* 1, 1. In the *Agricola* again, immediately below, *Paetus Thrasea, Priscus Helvidius.* — The so-called subjective dative for the abl. with the preposition occurs some thirty times in Tacitus. So *Herennio Senecioni.* **Paetus Thrasea**: *P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus*, also a Stoic. As the outspoken leader of the opposition he incurred the displeasure of Nero, and was finally driven to suicide by a trumped-up charge of treason in 66 A.D. Cp. *Ann.* XVI. 21 ff.

18. Herennio Senecioni: an intimate friend of the younger Pliny, who was associated with him in the trial of Baebius Massa, probably shortly after Agricola's death in 93. He was subsequently denounced by the notorious informer, Mettius Carus (see ch. 45, 15), for writing the life of Helvidius, and was executed; but his work was rescued from the flames (to which it had been consigned by a decree of the senate) by Fannia, the wife of Helvidius, who concealed a copy. **Priscus Helvidius**: *Helvidius Priscus*, banished after the death of Thrasea, his father-in-law, was recalled by Galba. Praetor

70 A.D. Later he incurred the displeasure of Vespasian by his uncompromising opposition and was finally executed in 73 A.D.

20. saevitum: sc. *esse*. **triumviris**: sc. *capitalibus*, the official executioners. The delegation of the duty of burning condemned books to these functionaries instead of to the aediles was intended as an additional degradation. — The earliest recorded instance of this practice is the burning of the alleged books of Numa in 181 B.C. During the empire such penalties were not uncommon. The biographies mentioned by Tacitus were the last so dealt with, the inefficacy of the proceeding having gradually become apparent.

21. comitio ac foro: the *comitium* was situated north of the *forum* and was the usual place for punishments. The apparently pleonastic *foro* is added to emphasize the publicity of the transaction. So Plin. *N. H.* XV. 18, 20, 77. It corresponds to *in conspectu populi* of Liv. XL. 29, 14, *libri in comitio . . . in c. p. cremati sunt.*

Page 2. **2. conscientiam**: Domitian in his shortsightedness imagined he could prevent men from retaining a vivid knowledge of these events. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 35, *praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam.*

3. expulsis sapientiae professoribus: this took place in 93 A.D. — *sapientiae*, for *philosophiae*. Tacitus whimsically avoids, as far as possible, Greek expressions. So likewise, e.g. *philosophi* and *poeta*. — *professor* is a post-Augustan word. — Tacitus is fond of closing a period with an ablative absolute. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxvii., and on the chiasmus, ibid. p. xxviii.

4. atque is epexegetic of the preceding clause, i.e. *and by so doing he banished every worthy accomplishment.* This high praise of philosophy does not represent T's personal convictions, for it strangely contrasts with ch. 4, 15 ff. (where see note). It seems here to be due to a desire to stigmatize an act of Domitian at any price, for Vespasian, styled by Tacitus *patientissimus veri*, had previously issued a similar decree.

5. Dedimus profecto: the asseverative particle is generally omitted in Tacitus, when the verb is placed at the beginning. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxvi.

6. vetus aetas: i.e. the Republican period. This use of *vetus* is characteristic of Tacitus.

7. nos: sc. *vidimus*. So *ultimum* after *quid*, and *esset* after *servitute* are supplied from the preceding by an easy ellipsis.

8. adempto . . . conmercio refers to the nefarious practice of informers, so frequently denounced by Tacitus, e.g. *Ann.* IV. 30, *delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum.*

Chapter 3. 12. et quamquam = *quamquam autem.* So ch. 36, 11. — *quamquam* with the subjunctive occurs sixty times in Tacitus, to twenty instances with the indicative.

13. primo statim . . . ortu: *at the very beginning of the dawn. Primo statim* occurs repeatedly in Tacitus. For the extremely common pleonasm with words denoting a beginning, see note *Dial.* 11, 18. **Nerva Caesar**: The references to Trajan, below and 44, 6, imply the death of Nerva (Jan. 27, 98 A.D.). *Divus* was probably omitted, because the official consecration had not yet taken place.

14. dissociabiles = *insociabiles* (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 12; XIII. 17) *incompatible;* in this sense only here and Claud. in *Ruf.* II. 238. The same negatival force of the prefix is found, e.g., in *dissimilis, displicere.* **principatum ac libertatem**: the antithesis seems to have been a commonplace. Cp. Plut. *Galba*, 6, and Tac. *Hist.* IV. 64, *haud facile libertas et domini miscentur.* The word *libertas* appears on inscriptions in reference to the accession of Nerva.

16. Securitas Publica like our *Commonwealth*, is frequently personified, especially on coins. *Vota* were vows and prayers offered up for the continued welfare of the state on the occasion of the accession of a new emperor. So recorded e.g. in the case of Trajan, Jan 3, 98 A.D. — Some verb like *conceperit* must be supplied by zeugma from *adsumpserit.* For other instances of zeugma, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

17. fiduciam ac robur: *strong assurance of the realization of the prayer.* Hendiadys, although the two nouns were primarily used for the sake of symmetry with *spem ac votum.*

19. lente . . . extinguuntur: an asyndetic antithesis, the adversative particle being, for the sake of conciseness, generally omitted. So e.g. ch. 12, 5, *tarde mītescunt, cito proveniunt.* — On the brachylogy see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. With the thought cp. Lucret. I. 556.

20. subit: sc. *animum.* Apparently not elsewhere used absolutely in this sense. **quippe** = *enim*, so very frequent in Tacitus, but in anastrophe only here and in the *Annals.*

22. Quid? si usually introduces a concrete illustration of a general proposition. Cp. *Dial.* 20, 10. **per quindecim annos**: i.e. the reign of Domitian (81–96).

23. grande . . . spatium: so styled, because of the crushing effect

upon those who lived through these dreadful times. **multi . . . promptissimus quisque . . . pauci**: notice the asyndeton. **fortuitis casibus**: *owing to natural causes.* Cp. *Ann.* XII. 52, *morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus.* Tacitus means to say that during the reign of terror most of the illustrious men capable of telling its story had died a natural or violent death, while the few that survived were too crushed in spirit and unlike their real selves to undertake the task.

24. promptissimus quisque: the plural verb after *quisque*, with or without the superlative, is found in all periods of the language, but is comparatively rare in classical prose, except in Livy.

25. ut ita dixerim: like its equivalent *ut sic dixerim* (e.g. *Dial.* 34, 23), is a post-Augustan phrase for *ut ita dicam.* — The so-called logical perfect subjunctive in subordinate clauses is very rare. — The expression is here used to apologize for the seeming paradox in *nostri superstites.*

26. exemptis e media vita tot annis: elsewhere in Tacitus *eximere* invariably takes the dative. — *media vita* is an elastic term. Thus in ch. 44, 26, it is applied to Agricola, at the age of 54. According to a belief common among the Romans, 120 years constituted the extreme natural limit of human life. Tacitus himself was about 26 years old on the accession of Domitian (81 A.D.), and therefore but 41 at Domitian's death. *Senectus* usually began at the age of 60.

27. ipsos exactae aetatis terminos: *to the very limits of extreme old age.* Such fullness of expression, still frequent in the minor writings of Tacitus, gradually disappears in the later works.

28. per silentium: i.e. in *compulsory* silence, because of the danger to which an honest historian or biographer would have exposed himself. **non tamen**: in spite of the terrible ordeal through which we passed.

29. pigebit . . . composuisse: the perfect infinitive refers to the time when the implied action is completed. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 233, *nec . . . excepisse pigebit.* **vel incondita ac rudi voce**: these terms are habitually used of an archaic and inartistic diction, but as the Histories here alluded to — they were not completed till 109 — are written in a style of consummate art, these epithets must not be taken too seriously. Similar apologetic or mock-modest expressions occur elsewhere, e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 69, 230 (concerning Antipater's introduction to his Punic War); Stat. *Silv.* I. praef.; Apul. *Met.* Introd.; Fronto, p. 242; Aelian, *Nat. Hist.* IV. 1 ff.; Liban. I. 276 f.

30. testimonium: *memoria* could not have been used with *praesentium bonorum*, because the still uncompleted reign of Trajan was included among these. But, when the *Historiae* had been published, their author had decided to reserve the record of Nerva's and Trajan's beneficent rule for an independent work, a plan either abandoned or frustrated by his death. Cp. *Hist.* I. 1, *quod si vita suppeditet, principatum Nervae et imperium Traiani . . . senectuti seposui.*

31. interim: i.e. pending the conclusion of my larger and strictly historical narrative.

32. laudatus erit aut excusatus: cp. *Dial.* ch. 10, 7, *probata sit fides et libertas excusata.* — The fut. perf. with reference to the reader's completed perusal of the biography. Cp. note ch. 1, 14, *opus fuit.*

Page 3. Chapter 4. **1. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola**: this is the only certain instance in Tacitus in which the *tria nomina Romanorum* occur. They are designed to give to the beginning of the biography proper a special solemnity. **Forotiuliensium colonia**: a town in Gallia Narbonensis, on the Mediterranean, founded by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C.; during the early empire it was a naval station of some importance. It is the modern Fréjus, situated 45 miles northeast of Toulon.

2. procuratorem Caesarum: the procurators were officers in the imperial household, appointed by, and solely responsible to, the emperor. These positions were originally held by freedmen and equites alike, but as the administrative functions of the emperor extended, the higher and more responsible procuratorships were given only to knights, who were then generally distinguished from the minor 'procuratores' as *procuratores Augusti*. *Caesarum* happens to be found only here, but *Caesaris* may have been equally official, the plural being used doubtless because the grandfathers referred to served separately under Augustus and Tiberius, or under both. But cp. *Dial.* ch. 7, 7, *procuratores principum.*

3. quae: by attraction for *quod*. Cp. ch. 7, 8; *Germ.* 5, 18. **equestris nobilitas**: these offices had become one of the marks of an equestrian career, for men of senatorial rank were debarred from holding a procuratorship. The expression itself, in place of *ordo equestris*, seems not to occur elsewhere, and is here used in the same technical sense which Tacitus repeatedly gives to *equites inlustres* or *insignes*, namely, knights occupying high positions. The exact equivalent, *equites nobiles*, is also found, e.g. Liv. XXIII. 46, 12.

4. Iulius Graecinus: highly extolled by Sen. *de ben.* II. 21, 5, *si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Graecini Iulii, viri egregii quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir erat quam esse quemquam tyranno expedit.* He seems to have reached the praetorship. In all probability he was descended from some Greek family in Marseilles, where Agricola was educated, and he may have been the son of Graecinus, the friend of Ovid. **senatorii ordinis**: sc. *vir.* One of the many instances of the absolute use of the genitive of quality. So below, l. 8, *rarae castitatis* (sc. *mulier*). **studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus**: *known for his literary and philosophical pursuits.* This wider meaning of *eloquentia* is not rare in post-Augustan Latin. — *sapientiae* = *philosophiae.* See note ch. 2, 3. — This predilection the son inherited. See below, l. 15 f.

6. meritus = *consecutus*, though extremely common elsewhere in Tacitus, is here rather used in an ironical sense; cp. Eng. *earn.* **M. Silanum**: *M. Iunius Silanus*, the father-in-law of Caligula, consul suffectus, 15 A.D., was driven to suicide 38 A.D. He is repeatedly mentioned by Tacitus.

7. Iulia Procilla: perhaps a descendant of C. Valerius Procillus, styled by Caes. *B. G.* I. 19, 3, *princeps* of Gaul.

8. fuit: In Tacitus phrases denoting descent do not omit the copula, unless a dative is expressed. So e.g. above, *pater illi.* **sinu indulgentiaque**: *loving care.* Hendiadys. *Indulgentia* is often used in a good sense. — With the thought, cp. note to *Dial.* 30, 20.

9. omnem honestarum artium cultum = *omnium h. a. c.*, by hypallage. — *honestae artes* for the more usual *liberales artes.*

10. Arcebat: on the emphatic position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. The subject is the following *quod* clause.

11. peccantium = *vitii.* The use of the participle for an *abstract* substantive is a Graecism, still rare in pre-Augustan Latin, but extremely frequent in later writers. In this treatise again, ch. 5, 6, *reciperatae;* 32, 21, *servientium.* **praeter**: *not to mention.* — With the phrase, cp. *Dial.* 28, 5.

12. sedem ac magistram: Tacitus is fond of joining a concrete and an abstract noun. See *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

13. Massilia, the modern Marseilles, was celebrated as early as Cicero's time as an educational centre, almost rivalling Athens. **locum . . . compositum** = *locum in quo Graeca comitas et provincialis parsimonia mixta ac bene composita erant.* **provinciali parsimonia**: the contrast between the greater moral purity of the

provinces and the degenerated society of Rome is often emphasized by Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 28, 13.

16. philosophiae: this word (like *philosophus*) is rarely used by Tacitus. See note ch. 2, 3. — The apathetic and, at times, hostile attitude of the Romans toward the study of philosophy is well attested. See note to *Dial.* 19, 7, and especially Suet. *Nero* 52.

17. (studium) hausisse = (*studio*) *se dedisse.* The infinitive represents *hauriebat* in direct discourse; *hausturum fuisse* must be supplied in thought as the apodosis to *ni . . . coercuisset.* So ch. 13, 23, *agitasse satis constat.* See *Introd.* p. xxxii. Translate: *He was on the point of devoting himself to . . . and he would have done so, had not,* etc. **incensum ac flagrantem**: sc. *studio philosophiae.* — *Incensus,* in its metaphorical sense, is extremely rare; *flagrans* exceedingly common. — Observe the accumulation of synonyms in this closing paragraph. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxix.

18. sublime et erectum: the same collocation occurs in *Quint.* XI. 1, 16, and similarly Cic. *Tusc.* V. 14, 42, *celsus et erectus.*

19. pulchritudinem ac speciem: *beautiful ideal.* Hendiadys.

20. caute: we should expect the comparative, but a similar instance of inconcinnity is met with in Tac. *Hist.* I. 83, *acrius quam considerate.* Cp. also *Ann.* IV. 61, *Agrippina claris maioribus quam vetustis,* where *clarioribus* and *vetustioribus* were avoided for euphonic reasons. — That the caution was necessary is evident from the punishment which some emperors inflicted upon philosophers. See note ch. 2, 3.

21. ratio et aetas: *prudence that comes with age.* On the epexegetic *et,* see *Introd.* p. xxx. The singular predicate with two abstract nouns joined by *et* is the rule in Tacitus. Where the verb in the singular precedes it may be supposed to agree with the nearer subject. When the subjects are joined with *ac* or *atque,* we find the plural, as in ch. 42, 25, exceptions being very rare. See also *Dial.* 5, 18. **retinuitque**: *and in consequence he retained.* This usage of *-que* is extremely frequent in Tacitus. — Observe the harsh change of subject.

22. ex sapientia: *the study of philosophy.* **modum**: *moderation.* — Tacitus constantly emphasizes this quality as the cardinal virtue of his hero, and the rhetoricians speak of it as an essential element of characterization in *encomia.* See *Introd.* p. xii. note 2.

Chapter 5. 23. Suetonio Paulino: a distinguished general, legatus pro praetore in Mauretania, in 41–42 A.D., in which latter year

he was probably consul suffectus. From 59–61 he was legatus in Britain. Consul in 66 and in 69, he led the Othonian forces against Vitellius, who subsequently pardoned him.

24. diligenti ac moderato: cp. *Hist.* II. 25, *cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent.* **adprobabit**: i.e. he served his military apprenticeship so as to win the approval of his chief. On the conciseness of expression, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **electus**: in place of the participle, we should expect a finite verb, as the approbation cannot have *followed* the selection. For an analogous elimination of the temporal force of the perfect participle, see note ch. 29, 21, *ictus . . . amisit.*

25. contubernio aestimaret: i.e. having been selected by Paulinus to test his worth by tenting with him. — *contubernio* is an instrumental ablative, as in Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 48, *virtutem aestimat annis.* **Nec** = *et neque.* **licenter . . . segniter**, etc: i.e. neither licentiously, etc., nor owing to slothfulness did he take advantage of his titular tribuneship, etc., to secure through furloughs opportunities for enjoyment. The *et* after *voluptates* is epexegetic. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

28. noscere . . . nosci, etc.: Tacitus repeatedly joins the active and passive of the same verb, e.g. *Germ.* 19, *conrumpere et conrumpi.* — Observe the skilful balancing of clauses and the accumulation of seven historical infinitives. In ch. 19, 29 ff. we have eight, in ch. 38, 15 ff. ten. This number is rarely exceeded. **exercitui**: on the subjective dative, see note, ch. 2, 17.

29. in iactationem: *in* final is perhaps more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. — On the chiasmus, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

Page 4. **2. anxius**: *cautiously.* In this sense the word is ἄπαξ εἰρημένον. Agricola never underestimated the strength of the enemy, an attitude which he owed to the training of Paulinus. See note ch. 5, 24. — On the adj. = adv., see *Dial.* 4, 16. **excitatior**: *more agitated.*

4. coloniae: there was only one colony, *Camulodunum*, the modern Colchester. The poetical plural is here used, as in 21, 27, *templa*, for the sake of symmetry with the other substantives. The same applies to *intercepti exercitus*, the allusion being apparently to the defeat of the ninth legion. — On the force of the asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **tum de salute**, etc. : the antithesis seems to have been a commonplace. Cp. 26, 18; Caes. *B. C.* 111, 5; Plut. *Caes.* 56.

6. alterius, for *alius*, which is practically unknown in Latin. **summa rerum**: *the successful issue of the campaign, namely, the restoration of the province, was attributed to the commander-in-chief.* The *et* adds a more specific to a general statement, according to a stylistic usage characteristic of Tacitus. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

7. artem et usum: *theoretical knowledge and practical experience.*

8. stimulos addidere: a poetic phrase, found in Lucan I. 263, the metaphor being very common. The polysyndeton emphasizes each element in the enumeration; see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **intravitque**: *and there entered.* See *Introd.* p. xxvi.

9. cupido: this shorter form for *cupiditas* is found only here in the smaller works, becomes increasingly frequent in the *Histories*, and has completely ousted its competitor in the *Annals*. See note to *Dial.* 2, 9. **temporibus**: ablative. **erga** = *adversus* is in this hostile sense quite common in Tacitus, rare elsewhere, though occurring as early as Plautus, e.g. *Cas.* 618; *Pseud.* 1020.

10. ex magna . . . ex mala: such alliterative antitheses are peculiarly Tacitean. See *Introd.* p. xxviii. — In adversative clauses, especially with *quam*, the preposition is generally repeated.

Chapter 6. 12. digressus: in 61 A.D., the marriage probably taking place the year after.

13. splendidis: often used of illustrious birth. **natalibus**: a post-Augustan expression for *origo*, *genus*, or *maiores*, first found in Seneca Rhetor.

14. decus ac robur fuit: the nominative in place of the dative in these and like phrases is poetic. In prose first in Liv. XL. 27, 10, and Val. Max. IV. 4, 5. In Tacitus, e.g. *Germ.* 13, 7. — For the singular predicate, see note ch. 4, 21. — *decus*, because of her high social position; *robur*, because of the political advantages given to a man with a family by the lex Papia Poppaea. Thus, a son having been born to Agricola in 63/64, he was enabled to stand for the quaestorship one year before the legal age, he being then but 24 years old. A deduction of one year was granted for each and every child.

16. in vicem se anteponendo: *each regarding the other as superior.* An instrumental ablative added to the *per* clause (see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.), for the sake of closer definition, the *et* being epexegetic (see *Introd.* p. xxx.). *In vicem*, for the classical *inter se*, is generally used without *se*. So in Tacitus, except *Dial.* 25, 3 and here. **nisi quod**: introduces a qualification or restriction. There ought to have been no

such rivalry, for a good wife fulfills her one supreme mission in life by being such, whereas a man's sphere of noble achievement is not restricted to the home circle. Tacitus doubtless intended this as a gallant compliment to his mother-in-law, who may well have still been living when this biography was published.

18. Salvium Titianum: *L. Salvius Otho Titianus*, brother of Otho, the future emperor, was consul in 52 and again in 69, proconsul in 63/64. After the death of Otho, he was pardoned *pietate et ignavia* (*Hist.* II. 60).

19. dedit: sc. *ei*. The ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun is particularly common in Tacitus. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **neutro** = *neutra re*. So *Ann.* III. 15, *nullo*. A usage especially frequent in post-Augustan Latin. See *Dial.* 19, 8, *omnibus*.

20. parata peccantibus: a province was often regarded as a legitimate field for extortion and personal aggrandizement. To have resisted so strong a temptation was, therefore, a special proof of Agricola's integrity. The praise here accorded to Agricola is, however, somewhat inconsistent with ch. 9, 17 f. — *Esset* must be supplied after *parata*. On this ellipsis, see *Introd.* p. xxxii. **proconsul . . . mali**: Tacitus has here, in order to emphasize the honesty of his hero, been guilty of a slight *suppressio veri*, for Agricola served the greater part of his quaestorship under *L. Antistius Vetus*, proconsul of Asia for 64/65, a lofty character, as appears from Tacitus himself, in *Ann.* XVI. 10 f.

22. mutuam dissimulationem mali: the proconsul was willing to connive at any rascality on the part of his subordinate, provided the latter would, in turn, promise to be blind to his misdeeds. **auctus est**: i.e. his family was increased by the birth of a daughter. The word is used in this sense by Cic. *ad Att.* I. 2, 1, and again by Tac. *Ann.* II. 84. This daughter subsequently became the wife of Tacitus. See ch. 9, 28.

23. in subsidium simul et solacium: *subsidium*, because of the reasons given in note to l. 16. — On the alliteration, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. and on the position of *simul*, cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

24. inter quaesturam, etc.: i.e. *annum inter quaesturam*, etc., the incongruity being due to the author's desire to avoid the awkward repetition of *annus*. It seems that in the regular *cursus honorum* an interval of one year was required between each of the offices here mentioned. The tribuneship of Agricola would, therefore, fall in the year 66 and the praetorship in 68, the year of Nero's death.

26. quiete et otio: on this and a similar often recurring group of synonyms, see ch. 21, 26; 40, 9; 42, 9, and note *Dial.* 39, 28. **gnarus**: to be joined to *temporum*.

27. segnitia pro sapientia: with the thought, cp. *Hist.* I. 49, *sed claritas natalium . . . obtentui, ut, quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur.* In Agricola, however, the conditions were reversed. **idem . . . silentium**: the meaning of this statement, though corrupted in the Mss., is clear. Agricola's praetorship passed without any features worthy of record. The *et* is epexegetic.

28. iurisdictio: during the Empire, the number of praetors occasionally rose as high as eighteen, but only the *praetor urbanus* and *praetor peregrinus* possessed ex officio civil jurisdiction. The absence of these judicial functions, therefore, still further accounts for the inconspicuous character of Agricola's incumbency of the office. **ludos . . . duxit**: a Tacitean coinage modeled upon *pompam (funus) ducere*, and employed to avoid the stereotyped phrase *ludos facere.* This tendency to discard the trite and commonplace is one of the most significant features of Tacitean style. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxv.

29. inania honoris: with *inania* supply *cetera*, for the *ludi* are included among these. Translate: *and what other empty pageantry of the office there was.* **medio moderationis**: i.e. these games he conducted on a scale midway between economy and extravagance. — The genitive with *medius* is chiefly poetic. In Tacitus again, *Ann.* I. 64, *medio montium et paludum.*

30. uti . . . ita = *quamquam — tamen.* This adversative use of *ut — ita* is especially frequent in Livy and Tacitus. **famae propior**: i.e. he came nearer to acquiring distinction in this matter than one would have expected, because reckless extravagance in furnishing amusement to the people was the time-honored method of gaining popularity. The statement furnishes a good illustration of Tacitus's skill in turning to his hero's credit what was at best an indifferent performance.

Page 5. 1. dona, etc.: probably this refers to temple property carried away by private individuals during the great fire under Nero, who had himself replenished his own losses by depleting the temples throughout the empire of their art treasures. These latter were now beyond restitution, but the others were collected with such success that the commonwealth no more felt their absence than if they had never been removed. This idea is implied in the pluperfect. For a

similar instance, see Plin. *Pan.* 40, *effecisti* (viz. Trajan) *ne malos principes habuissemus* (i.e. made us forget by your beneficent rule that we ever had despotic emperors in the past).

Chapter 7. **4. Sequens annus**: i.e. 69 A.D. — On the personification see note ch. 1, 2.

6. Intimilium: the modern *Vintimiglia*, 12 miles east of Monaco. **hostiliter populatur**: only apparently pleonastic, the adverb being added, because it was a *Roman* fleet devastating *Roman* territory.

10. adfectati . . . imperii: *had designs upon the throne*, implying, however, that these were on the point of realization. —Vespasian's imperium dates from July 1 (or 3), 69 A.D., when the legions of Alexandria and Judaea swore allegiance to him. **deprehensus**: *was surprised by the news*. The verb often implies surprise.

12. iuvene admodum Domitiano: he was then eighteen years of age. On his character, cp. *Hist.* IV. 2, *Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat*, and Suet. *Domit.* 1.

13. fortuna: *imperial rank*. So repeatedly used and of Vespasian in particular. Cp. ch. 13, 29.

14. dilectus: in Italy, in 70 A.D.

15. vicensimae legioni: also known as the *Valeria Victrix*, stationed at Deva, the modern Chester. At the same time, there were in Britain three other legions, the *Second Augusta*, the *Ninth Hispana*, and the *Fourteenth Gemina Valeria Victrix*, replaced by the *Second Adiutrix*, by 70 A.D. They had their headquarters at Caerleon (in Wales), York, and Lincoln, respectively.

16. ubi: either *in Britain*, to be understood from the context, or = *apud quam legionem*. The former is preferable. **decessor**: viz. Roscius Caelius, as we learn from *Hist.* I. 60, where he is charged by the legate Trebellius Maximus with being responsible for insubordination and incapacity. In the present passage the accusation of treason is mentioned independently, because, unlike the other charge, it lacked substantiation (*narrabatur*). Tacitus was not over friendly to Trebellius.

17. legatis quoque consularibus: viz. Trebellius and Bolanus. — We should expect the *quoque* to go with the adjective, by way of contrast with *praetorius*, but similar incongruities occur occasionally in Tacitus and elsewhere, e.g. *Dial.* 36, 25 (with note); 17, 9, *a divo quoque Augusto*, where, however, the epithet may be taken as a proper

name. **nimia**: like our colloquial *too much for*. The phrase is post-Augustan. Cp. Vell. Pat. II. 32, 1, *Pompeium . . . nimium iam liberae rei publicae*; and Tac. *Hist.* III. 52; *Ann.* II. 34.

19. potens ad: elsewhere in Tacitus construed with the genitive. With *ad* e.g. Ovid, *Her.* V. 147. **incertum an**: a favorite elliptical phrase in Tacitus. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* I. 11. It was uncertain whether Roscius Caelius was incapable of maintaining discipline, or whether, owing to the turbulent character of this legion, he was deterred from attempting it. **ita** = *itaque*, extraordinarily frequent in Tacitus, *itaque* occurring only in *three* passages of the *Dialogus*.

Chapter 8. **22. Vettius Bolanus**: legatus of a legion under Corbulo, consul suffectus in 67/68 A.D., sent by Vitellius as the successor of Trebellius Maximus as governor of Britain, 69–70 A.D., and proconsul of Asia Minor in the reign of Vespasian.

23. dignum: *deserves*. — Tacitus elsewhere omits the copula with *dignus* and *indignus*. **Temperavit**: placed (like *praeerat* above and *habuerunt* below) at the beginning of the sentence for the sake of emphasis. See *Introd.* p. xxvi. Observe the chiasmus.

24. increscerent: sc. *Agricola*.

25. peritus obsequi: so Verg. *Buc.* 10, 32, and Persius, 2, 34. In Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XI. 29. **utilia honestis miscere**: cp. Hor. *A. P.* 343, *miscuit utile dulci*. — On the simple verb for the compound (*admiscere*), cp. ch. 10, 15.

26. Brevi deinde = *paulo post*, is rare, e.g. Liv. XXIV. 4, 9. **consularem**: sc. *legatum*. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **Petilius Cerialis**: *Q. Petilius Cerialis Caesius Rufus*, commander of the IX. legion, which was routed by the Britains under Boudicca, in 61 A.D. Having espoused the cause of Vespasian, his relative, he was consul suffectus in 70 and 74. He was sent by Mucianus to Germany, where he put down the formidable uprising of Civilis, in 70 A.D.

27. virtutes, etc.: *his great ability had free scope for noteworthy achievements*. Cp. *Ann.* XIII. 8, *locus virtutibus patefactus*.

28. et = *etiam*, occurs in Tacitus more than 150 times. Indisputable instances in Cicero, Caesar, and in pre-Augustan writers generally are extremely rare, but from Livy on this usage becomes increasingly frequent.

30. ex eventu: *owing to his success; eventus*, a so-called *vocabulum medium*, may designate either a good or a bad *outcome*.

31. gestis = *rebus gestis;* rare in Tacitus, as in other writers.

32. ad auctorem: On the adversative asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. With the statement, cp. *Germ.* 14, 22.

Page 6. **1. virtute**, etc.: observe the careful balancing of clauses. — On the alliterative antithesis and the repetition of the preposition, see note ch. 5, 10, and *Introd.* pp. xxvii., xxviii.

2. nec = *nec tamen, nor for all that.* So frequently, e.g. ch. 19, 31; *Germ.* 42, 10. **extra** = *sine, free from.* So Tac. *Hist.* I. 49.

Chapter 9. **3. revertentem**: *immediately on his return*, i.e. in 74 A.D., probably in company with the retiring legate, Petilius Cerialis. — For the force of the present participle we may compare ch. 18, 15, *ingredienti;* 28, 9, *retro remigante.*

4. inter patricios adscivit: this was done originally by Caesar and Augustus for the purpose of replenishing the decimated ranks of the patriciate, subsequently by way of compliment to illustrious men, the selection of non-Italians probably not antedating the reign of Claudius.

5. Aquitaniae praeposuit: the government of this most important praetorian province seems to have been a direct stepping-stone to the consulship. So e.g. in the case of Galba, Julius Julianus, and others. **splendidae . . . dignitatis**: sc. *provincia.* On this elliptical genitive of quality, see note ch. 4, 4.

6. administratione ac spe: *by virtue of its administrative functions and the hope it held out for.* **destinarat**: sc. *eum.* On the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun, see *Introd.* p. xxxi. **credunt plerique**: *it is a very common belief.* On the position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

7. subtilitatem: *acumen*, i.e. a legal mind trained to weigh testimony, fluency of exposition being also implied. Cp. Liv. II. 56, 8.

8. secura: *easy-going*, because not subject to appeal, opposed to *gravis, thoughtful, concerned*, owing to a feeling of responsibility. **obtusior**: *rather blunt, curt.*

9. manu agens: *high-handed, summary.* **non exerceat**: *has no practice in, does not make use of*, as forensic subtlety is not acquired in the school-room, but by actual experience in the law-courts.

10. prudentia: best taken as ablative of cause, — *by reason of his good sense.* **togatos**: *civilians*, opposed to *milites.* In pre-Augustan and Augustan Latin the word is generally contrasted either

with soldiers or foreigners ; later authors use it in the sense of clients, or of the upper classes, as distinguished from the *tunicati* (= *plebs*).

11. facile agebat: sc. *res iudiciales*. *facile*, *with despatch*, as if he had had legal training. **Iam vero**: *besides*, *furthermore;* a formula of transition, usually emphatic, occurring occasionally in Tacitus. **curarum remissionumque**: also combined in *Dial.* 28, 27 f.

12. ubi . . . poscerent: the subjunctive of repeated action with *ubi*, occurs only here in the minor works, though common in the *Histories* and *Annals* and in post-Augustan writers generally. **conventus ac iudicia**: *circuit courts*. *Iudicia* is added as the more specific term for the sake of nearer definition, according to a characteristic usage in Tacitus. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

13. et saepius misericors: sc. *erat*. On *et, and at the same time, besides*, after an asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. and *Hist.* IV. 12, *erat et domi delectus eques;* with *saepius* as here, e.g. *Ann.* III. 74, *pars aliqua militis Romani in ore, in latere et saepius a tergo erat.* — On the cumulative force of the asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **ubi . . . factum**: sc. *esset*. The ellipsis of the subjunctive forms of *esse* is rare and generally permitted only when a preceding subjunctive (so *poscerent* here) prevents any ambiguity. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii.

14. nulla ultra potestatis persona: sc. *erat*, in symmetry with its parallel clause, *misericors* (sc. *erat*), above. After the adjournment of the court, Agricola, unlike other legates, no longer kept up his judicial demeanor. **tristitiam . . . exuerat**: *he had cast off moroseness and hauteur and covetousness*. The figure, common in Tacitus, is taken from a dress, which can be put off or on at pleasure. Strictly speaking, he, as *Agricola*, could not, of course, cast off what he never had; but Tacitus means to say that as *legatus* he had divested himself, the moment he entered upon this office, of all those qualities which the Romans from time immemorial had come to regard as inseparable from it. The ambiguity was due to a striving for conciseness.

16. facilitas: *affability*, when not acting in an official capacity, and with the implication that he was easily accessible. So again ch. 40, 10.

17. integritatem . . . fuerit: with the sentiment, cp. Vell. Pat. II. 45, 5, *cuius* (sc. *Catonis*) *integritatem laudari nefas est.* — Observe, however, that Tacitus had explicitly praised these very characteristics in ch. 6, 19. Their enumeration conforms to the rules laid down by Menander (*Rhet. Gr.* III. 416 Sp.). The entire clause does not add a

new idea to the preceding, but serves as a kind of apology for having mentioned at all what might have been taken for granted *in tanto viro*.

18. famam . . . indulgent: a commonplace. Cp. Cic. *pro Arch.* 2, *trahimur omnes laudis studio et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur;* Tac. *Hist.* IV. 6, *etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur;* Milton, *Lycidas* 70, *Fame . . . that last infirmity of noble minds.* Cp. note *Dial.* 10, 28.

19. ostentanda . . . per artem: on this peculiarly Tacitean change of construction for the sake of variety, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. — *per artem, by intrigues.* Cp. note ch. 27, 31.

21. conlegas: more particularly the governors of the neighboring provinces, such as Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdūnensis. **procuratores**: probably a rhetorical plural for sake of symmetry with *conlegas.* See note ch. 5, 4. — Observe the careful libration of these two clauses. **vincere inglorium . . . adteri sordidum**: to be taken only in reference to quarrels with the procuratores, who were inferior in rank to the *legatus.* — With the sentiment cp. Sen. *de ira*, II. 34, 1, *cum pari contendere anceps est . . . cum inferiore sordidum.* — On the brachylogy (*vinci eoque adteri*), see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

22. minus triennium: Dio Cass. LII. 23, 2, gives the period of tenure of provincial governors as not less than three nor more than five years. The fact that Agricola was *legatus pro praetore* for even less than the usual period probably accounts for the renewed expectation that his election to the consulship would follow *immediately*, his hope being originally based on the fact that he was governor of Aquitania. See note ch. 9, 5.

23. ad spem, etc.: i.e. he was recalled to Rome, cherishing the hope of an immediate appointment to the consulship. **statim**, in place of the missing adjective, is joined to *spem*, this being equivalent to *res sperata*, as in Verg. *Georg.* IV. 162; Ovid, *Heroid.* XVII. 182.

25. dari: the present infinitive implies the correctness of the belief, although it was as yet based only on *opinio*, not actual information, a circumstance still further emphasized by the poetic quotation. **in hoc**: owing to the verbal force in *sermonibus*, an elliptical abl. abs. **par**: because Agricola was the best fitted for the office.

27. Haud . . . ĕlĕgit: *rumor is not always unreliable; occasionally it has even made the right selection* (i.e. in advance of authentic information). The verse is a choliambus or scazon, *elēgit* being

the so-called gnomic perfect which is chiefly poetic. In prose, e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 11, 3; 51, 11; Tac. *Ann.* III. 66. We may, however, equally well regard *elegit* as an archaic form of the present (cp. *intellego* for *intelligo*), in which case the line would be a senarius.

28. consul: in Jan. 77 A.D. **egregiae tum spei**: this seems to have been an expression for the marriageable age of women. She was then thirteen years old. Our extant inscriptions furnish eighteen instances of marriages at this age, sixteen at twelve, and twenty-one at fourteen years, twenty-one of the total belonging to Rome. The usual interpretation of this passage must make *tum* = *etiam tum*, a meaning which is not found anywhere. **iuveni mihi**: Tacitus was about twenty-three or twenty-four years old at the time of his marriage, being born about 54/55 A.D.

29. post consulatum: i.e. in 78 A.D. — Agricola's consulship seems, like his other curule offices, not to have been marked by any features worth recording, and, therefore, Tacitus contents himself with this bare reference. See note ch. 6, 27. His colleague was the future emperor Domitian, then twenty-six years old, and consul suffectus for the fifth time.

30. pontificatus sacerdotio: this high pontifical function was bestowed by the senate at the previous recommendation of the emperor, and was rarely held by men beneath consular rank.

Page 7. Chapter 10. On the relevancy and purpose of the following chapters (10–13), dealing with the geography and ethnology of Britain, see *Introd.* p. xiv.

1. scriptoribus: subjective dative. See note ch. 2, 17. — Among the writers probably referred to, besides the two mentioned, were Pytheas, Posidonius, and Sallust.

2. curae ingeniive: as Tacitus's predecessors are said to have covered up their ignorance by rhetorical embellishment, *curae* cannot designate, as it frequently does elsewhere, *laborious research*, but is here synonymous with *ars*, which is frequently contrasted with *ingenium* or *natura*. Cp. e.g. Quint. X. 1, 107, *curae plus in illo* (Demosthenes), *in hoc* (Cicero) *naturae*. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* II. 9 (11), 4; Ovid, *Trist.* II. 423 f., *Am.* I. 15, 13. This also accounts for the use of *eloquentissimi* (below, l. 11) in place of *summi*, *locupletissimi*, or the like.

3. tum primum: a similar reason for treating a subject more in detail is given in *Ann.* II. 27, *eius negotii initium . . . curatius disse-*

ram quia tum primum reperta sunt. On an ulterior motive, besides the scientific one here stated, see *Introd.* p. xiii.

4. priores: particularly Livy and Fabius Rusticus, and possibly Posidonius, but *not* Caesar, to whom *eloquentia percoluere* would be inapplicable. **percoluere**: *have embellished.* In this sense the verb seems to be ἅπ. εἰρ., but cp. Plaut. *Poen.* I. 2, 22 (vs. 232), *nisi perculta est* (sc. *mulier*) in a non-figurative meaning.

5. notitia: *information*, the word implying a more or less superficial knowledge, as contrasted with *scientia.*

6. spatio ac caelo: *geographical location. Caelo* is added to *spatio* by way of nearer definition, the land and sky being co-extensive. Cp. note ch. 9, 12.

7. obtenditur: *faces.* So *Germ.* 35, 5, but not elsewhere in this sense. — The ancients erroneously conceived Spain as stretching farther west and north, so that Britain was northeast of it and Ireland due north. See map. — By *Germania* Tacitus includes Scandinavia. **Gallis**: subjective dative. See note ch. 2, 17.

8. inspicitur: the underlying conception being that the entire southern coast of Britain ran parallel to the northern boundary of Gaul. See map. **nullis contra terris**: the ablative absolute is elliptical, *positis* being understood with *contra.* Cp. ch. 11, 5, *posita contra Hispania*, and *Introd.* p. xxxi.

9. vasto atque aperto mari: the identical phrase occurs in Caes. *B. G.* III. 12, 5, and similarly III. 9, 7, *in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano.*

10. Fabius Rusticus: author of a history of his own times, which is cited by Tacitus as one of his sources for the reign of Nero (*Ann.* XIII. 20). He was especially partial to Seneca, his intimate friend. The account of Britain was given either in connection with the expedition of Claudius (43 A.D.) or else in the narrative of the uprising under Boudicca in the reign of Nero (61 A.D.). He is in all probability the historian referred to by Quintilian in the memorable passage in X. 1, 104, *superest adhuc et ornat aetatis nostrae gloriam vir saeculorum memoria dignus qui olim nominabitur nunc intellegitur.* A Fabius Rusticus, together with Pliny and Tacitus, is mentioned as one of the heirs in the will of Dasumius (written 108 A.D.). If he be the same as the historian, the present passage would furnish the only instance in Tacitus in which a writer still living is cited as a source.

11. eloquentissimi auctores: *consummate stylists.* — As the

context proves, *auctor* is here used without the accessory meaning of trustworthiness, a signification, though extremely common in post-Augustan Latin, still foreign to earlier writers. **oblongae scutulae**: the exact shape of the dish called *scutula* is unknown. It may have been rectangular or more like a trapezoid or trapezium. *Oblongae* seems to indicate an elongation of two of its sides, which in a rough way might correspond to the configuration of Great Britain. **bipenni**: the center of the double battle-ax, representing the narrowest part of the island. As *vel*, in place of *aut*, seems to show, there cannot have been any essential difference in form between the *scutula* and the *bipennis*. But such comparisons must not, in any case, be too closely pressed, based as they were upon very vague and untrustworthy information.

12. adsimulavere: a plural predicate after two singular subjects in *adversative* clauses is one of the characteristic features of Tacitean usage. Here the incongruity is all but done away with by the plural apposition. So also e.g. *Ann.* XII. 1, *huic Pallas, illi Callistus fautores aderant.* **Et**: *and as a matter of fact.* This asseverative use of *et*, at the beginning of a sentence, is common in Tacitus. Cf. e.g. 22, 21; *Germ.* 35, 14. **citra** = *sine.* See ch. 1, 12. **unde**: sc. *oriebatur.* With *unde* (18 instances), and similarly with *hinc*, *inde*, *ex eo*, and the like, Tacitus omits the verb. In the smaller works again, *Germ.* 4, 7, *unde habitus;* 9, 29, *unde causa.*

13. in universum fama: i.e. the erroneous notion gained general acceptance that the entire island, including Caledonia, had the shape spoken of. **transgressis**: this dative of local standpoint, akin to the Greek dative absolute, is first found in Varro *L. L.* V. 57. Cp. note ch. 11, 10. **inmensum . . . spatium**: the phrase occurs in five other places in Tacitus. Under the influence of Vergil he develops an increasing fondness for *inmensus*, *inmanis*, *ingens*, using them generally in the sense of *magnus.* **enorme**: here *shapeless*, but usually synonymous with *inmensus*, e.g. ch. 36, 3.

14. litore . . . tenuatur: a dactylic hexameter. Verses in prose, whether complete or partial, are severely censured by the ancients. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 20, 67 and Quint. IX. 4, 7, and but few genuine instances occur, the rhythmical cadence being in the majority of cases not felt, if the sentence is properly read. The present line, however, *Ann.* I. 1, though faulty, and especially *Germ.* 39, 13, *auguriis . . . sacram* are noteworthy. — On the conciseness of expression, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

17. adfirmavit: *confirmed;* for that Britain is an island had been *asserted* by Pytheas and others, but Agricola's fleet first *demonstrated* it. It is to this achievement that the only ancient author, besides Tacitus, who mentions Agricola, refers. Cp. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20.

18. Orcadas: i.e. the Orkneys. That they were wholly unknown up to this time, as Tacitus states, is disproved by Mela and Pliny. — The Greek accusative plural occurs in Tacitus but rarely and only in proper names. Cp. *Germ.* 45; *Hist.* IV. 55; *Ann.* III. 61; IV. 51; XII. 32, 33, 38; XIV. 29.

19. Dispecta: *was descried in the distance;* but, unlike the Orkneys, Thule was not subdued, because they had no orders to do so, and even if they had, the approaching winter would have made it inexpedient to attempt its subjugation, the tacit assumption being that the Romans would have had no difficulty in accomplishing the task. — The verb at the beginning, and at the same time in juxtaposition with *domuit*, skillfully emphasizes the antithesis. **Thule**: first mentioned by the distinguished navigator, *Pytheas* of Massilia (4th cent. B.C.), and regarded by the ancients generally as the most northerly point of the earth, hence *ultima Thule* (Verg. *Georg.* I. 30). It was said by Pytheas to be six days' sail from Britain, the night and day being six months long. Hence it has been rashly identified by some with Iceland. The island here referred to was probably Mainland, the largest of the Shetland group. It can be seen from the Orkneys. **hactenus**: sc. *progredi, to advance up to this point only*, with special reference to *dispecta est.* Their orders were to return, so soon as Thule was sighted. The omission of *tantum* is a noteworthy Latin idiom. **et** = *et praeterea.* In this treatise again ch. 11, 5; 15, 30; 26, 17; 29, 24; 30, 27; 31, 20; 38, 26. So also *ac* (l. 25). — The date (83 A.D.) as well as the season of the year is fixed by ch. 38, 29.

20. mare pigrum: corresponds to the πεπηγυῖα θάλασσα of Pytheas, the *mare concretum* of Pliny, and may represent the seas of the northern ocean filled with floating masses of ice in which ancient mariners may well have found it difficult to make any headway. In the *Germ.* 45, 25 the ocean east of Scandinavia is similarly styled *mare pigrum ac prope inmotum.* As we see from this description, the knowledge of these regions had been but little advanced in the four centuries that separate Tacitus from Pytheas. — On the brachylogy in this clause, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **perinde**: sc. *ac cetera maria*, an elliptical comparison common with *perinde, aeque*, and the like. This sluggish sea is not stirred like other sheets of water even in a storm.

Cp. the similar description of the Dead Sea in Tac. *Hist.* V. 6, *neque vento impellitur . . . inertes undae superiacta, ut solido, ferunt.*

22. rariores: used predicatively, though in attributive position (= *rarius occurrunt*), and correlative with *tardius*, for the apposition *causa*, etc., can apply only to *terrae montesque*. The construction is exceedingly common in T. **causa et materia**: *origin and occasion.* Tacitus is fond of combining words denoting origin. So e.g. *Germ.* 9, 29, *causa et origo.*

24. aestus: this phenomenon was naturally a source of astonishment to the Romans, as there are scarcely any tides in the Mediterranean. **neque . . . ac**: *does not fall within the scope of this work and besides.* This collocation seems to occur in but one other passage in extant writers, viz. Suet. *Vesp.* 12, *ac* having the same force as here. See note to l. 19.

25. multi rettulere: e.g. Aristotle, Pytheas, Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, Seneca, but above all *Posidonius* (1st cent. B.C.) in his Μετεωρολογικά and Περὶ Ὠκεανοῦ, the standard works on these and kindred topics in antiquity. **addiderim**: because based on authentic information acquired in these expeditions, and doubtless communicated to the author by Agricola himself.

26. fluminum: *waters.* So Verg. *Aen.* XII. 518; Val. Flacc. II. 496. **huc atque illuc ferre**: *ebbs and flows,* i.e. the high tides send huge volumes of water far up the friths and rivers, and on receding at low tide leave the channel all but dry. — Elsewhere T. uses *huc illuc*, occasionally *hucque et illuc*, and once *huc vel illuc.*

29. velut in suo: as if they were still a part of the ocean's bed. With the personification we may compare, *Germ.* 30, 24, *Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul ac deponit.*

Chapter 11. 30. Ceterum: but to return after this digression, which was *non huius operis*, to the description of Britain. *Ceterum* often has this resumptive force in Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 26, 6. **qui . . . coluerint**: probably modeled upon Sall. *Iug.* 17, 7, *sed qui mortales initio Africam coluerint*, etc.

Page 8. 1. indigenae: this was the opinion of Timaeus and Pytheas, the authorities of Diodorus (V. 21, 5), and was the claim made by the Britons themselves. **an advecti**: Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 12, 1, *Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab iis qui . . . ex Belgis*

transierant. **ut**: *as might be expected.* This elliptical use of *ut* occurs often in Tacitus, e.g. 18, 7; *Germ.* 2, 8; 22, 32; 27, 27; 30, 27; 45, 14.

2. Habitus corporum: *physical characteristics.* So *Germ.* 4, 8. **ex eo argumenta**: sc. *petuntur.* — On the ellipsis, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

3. rutilae . . . artus: cp. *Germ.* 4, 9, *rutilae comae, magna corpora.* — Tacitus's information was probably derived from Agricola, though he may have seen some of the natives in Rome.

4. Silurum: they dwelt in what is now South Wales and Monmouthshire, and were subdued by Frontinus. See ch. 17, 14. Their origin, probably Celtic (see below), is still an unsolved problem of ethnology. **colorati**: usually taken in the sense of *swarthy, sunburnt*, an epithet applied by the ancients to the Hindoos, Chinese, and Etruscans; but such a designation seems quite out of place with respect to a nation living in northern climes, and would be inconsistent with their Celtic origin, nor is there any evidence that the Iberians of Spain were *colorati;* finally, it is important to observe that in the rest of the description of the Silures, unlike that of the Caledonians, no *physical*, but only external and acquired characteristics are referred to. It will, therefore, be best to interpret the epithet in a like sense here, i.e. *painted*, possibly *tattooed*, which is a well-attested practice of the Britons. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 14, 2.

5. et = *et praeterea, and the fact moreover.* See note ch. 10, 19. On *et* after an asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

6. easque sedes: the context leaves it undetermined whether Tacitus meant to say that Iberians settled in the territory then occupied by the Silures, the latter acquiring Iberian customs, in which case the Silures were Celts (cp. the term Celtiberi), or whether the Silures of his time were the descendants of the Iberian conquerors who drove out the Celtic aborigines. In either case the hypothesis of the Iberian migration must be rejected.

7. proximi Gallis et similes, etc.: i.e. the tribes dwelling nearest to the Gauls (viz. the Cantians) also (*et* = *etiam*) resemble them. The two *seu* clauses do not give alternative reasons, but the first is in a measure the direct result of the *proximity*, while the similar climatic conditions account for the ethnological *resemblance.* **durante originis usu**: *because the customs of their original state were retained. durare* in the sense of to *survive*, seems to occur first in Livy.

8. diversa: *in opposite directions.* For the meaning *opposite*, cp. e.g. ch. 23, 28. **positio caeli**: *climate.*

9. habitum: sc. *eundem*. On the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun, see note ch. 6, 19. **In universum . . . aestimanti**: *but on a general consideration*. The so-called *dative* of the person judging. Cp. *Germ.* 6, 16, *in universum aestimanti*. Cp. note ch. 10, 13.

11. Eorum: sc. *Gallorum*. **deprehendas**: sc. *apud Britannos*. To one ignorant of their common origin the coincidence would be surprising. On the force of this verb, see note ch. 7, 10, and on the *collocatio verborum*, characteristic of Tacitus, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **superstitionum persuasiones**: *religious convictions, cult. Persuasio* is very rarely found in the plural. Caesar, while confirming the identity of the cult, asserts, in apparent contradiction to Tacitus, that it originated in Britain and was adopted by the Gauls. Cp. *B.G.* VI. 13, 11 f. *Disciplina* (sc. *Druidum*) *in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.* The truth seems to be that the ritual was originally Celtic, but, owing to the isolation of the British Celts, was by them developed on more rigid and orthodox lines.

12. sermo . . . diversus: of the two great branches of the Celtic language in the British islands, the Goidelic or Q Celts and the Brythonic or P Celts, we must probably look to the latter, represented by Welsh, Breton, and Cornish, as exhibiting the greater similarity with the Gallic tongue, but the ancients did not advance beyond a merely perfunctory observation of linguistic phenomena, and therefore little or no reliance can be placed upon their statements in such matters. **in deposcendis . . . formido**: observe the artistic balancing of clauses. — With the statement, cp. Caes. *B.G.* III. 19, 6, *ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.*

13. ubi advenere: sc. *pericula*.

14. praeferunt: for the more usual *prae se ferre*, so ch. 43, 12.

15. pax emollierit: on the enervating effect of peace upon a savage people, see ch. 21, 25 ff., and esp. *Germ.* 14, 24, *si civitas . . . longa pace et otio torpeat.* **Nam**: like *enim*, γάρ, with the usual ellipsis to be supplied in thought. I.e. this may be confirmed by the example of the Gauls, for they, etc.

16. accepimus: esp. Caes. *B.G.* VI. 24, *fuit antea tempus cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent*, cited *Germ.* 28, 5.

17. amissa, etc.: on the initial position of the verb in the singular with two subjects, especially common in ablative absolute construc-

tions, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **pariter**: on the position, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

18. olim victis: refers to the expedition under Claudius in 43 A.D. **ceteri**: the still unsubdued tribes in the north and west.

19. fuerunt: i.e. before *segnitia cum otio intravit.*

Chapter 12. 20. in pedite robur: i.e. their *chief* strength, for they also made considerable use of chariots, as we learn e.g. from Caes. *B. G.* IV. 24, 32 ff., V. 9, 15; Diod. V. 21. **nationes**: *tribes.* **curru**: see note ch. 35, 19.

21. Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: this is possibly mentioned to controvert the erroneous opinion of those who compared this mode of fighting with the Homeric custom (e.g. Diod. V. 21, 5), for in Homer the ἡνίοχος is the driver, while the hero fights on foot near his chariot (παραιβάτης). *clientes* (Caes. *B. G.* I. 4, 2), doubtless identical with the *comites* or *comitatus*, so often referred to in the *Germania*, the *auriga* being the *princeps* or chief. **propugnant**: i.e. *fight in defense of their chief.* Cp. *Germ.* 14, 21. **olim regibus parebant**: this is confirmed by Caes. *B. G.* V. 11, 9; Tac. *Ann.* II. 24, and others.

22. per principes = *principibus per quos.* On the prolepsis, see *Introd.* p. xxx. **factionibus et studiis**: *factional quarrels.* Hendiadys.

23. distrahuntur: the regular term for political disturbances.

24. pro nobis = *nobis. Pro* is used pleonastically to mark a more pointed contrast with *adversus.* — With the sentiment, cp. the famous passage in *Germ.* 33, 15, *urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.* **in commune non consulunt**: this trait is often alluded to, e.g. 15, 6; 29, 3; 38, 19.

28. asperitas frigorum abest: Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 12, 7, *loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.*

29. mensuram: sc. *dierum.* The so-called *comparatio compendiaria* used to avoid awkward repetitions. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. According to Plin. *N. H.* II. 75, 77, 186, the longest day in Alexandria was 14 hours, in Italy 15, and in Britain 17, which is fairly accurate. The longest day in London is 16½, in northern Scotland more than 18 hours.

32. occidere et exsurgere . . . transire: sc. *solem.* On an analogous substitution of only part of an antecedent (*solis fulgorem*), see note ch. 13, 22. **transire**: *to pass across*, i.e. along the horizon

or edge of the disk-shaped earth. — The phenomenon of the midnight sun is here given expressly on the authority of others (*adfirmant*) and, as a matter of fact, it is not observed in even the most northerly regions of Caledonia. In *Germ.* 45, 27, it is more accurately ascribed to Norway.

Page 9. 1. **Scilicet**, etc.: this fanciful and somewhat obscure explanation was adopted by Tacitus from some earlier and unknown pseudo-scientist. It implies the belief, generally rejected even in antiquity, that the earth was a circular shield or concave disk, the sun's shadow being supposed to cause night. On the presumably western, unobstructed edge (*extrema et plana terrarum*) the shadow cast would be low, falling far beneath the heaven with its stars; at the center the more extended curvature of the surface would project it to a somewhat greater height, thus bringing on deeper darkness, while at the opposite extremity there would be no shadow at all, or perpetual daylight. **extrema et plana**: except in Sallust such substantival adjectives are found in pre-Tacitean prose only if they convey a partitive meaning.

2. **caelum et sidera**: on this collocation, see *Introd.* p. xxx.

3. **praeter**: *excepting*, a comparatively rare usage. In Tac. again: *Hist.* V. 8, 10; *Ann.* I. 13; XIII. 19, 45. **oleam vitemque et cetera . . . sueta**: a very frequent collocation in Tacitus, *-que*, joining a group, followed by an independent element with *et*. In this treatise again, ch. 25, 24.

4. **terris**: the ablative of place where, though extremely common in Tacitus, is still rare in the minor writings. Cp. e.g. ch. 25, 24; 33, 22; 45, 3; *Dial.* 13, 21. **oriri sueta**: so Sall. *Hist. fragm.* 1, 9. **frugum patiens, fecundum**: *yields, or rather abounds in fruits*, excepting such as grow only in warmer climates, like that of Italy. — *fecundum* is added asyndetically to qualify *patiens*, which is at best a vague term and therefore liable to convey a false impression. — With the phrase, cp. e.g. Lucan, IX. 857, *impatiensque solum Cereris.*

5. **tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt**: an adversative, not an enumerative asyndeton which would involve an uncalled for hysteron proteron. So exactly ch. 3, 19. — *proveniunt* cannot here signify *growing up, thriving* (its usual meaning, with *fruges* and the like), for this would be incompatible with *tarde mitescunt;* but it is used in the very rare sense of *coming forth, sprouting*, e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* II. 1, 26 (vs. 223); Tac. *Hist.* IV. 65.

7. **Fert . . . argentum**: confirmed by Strabo IV. 5, 2. Both gold

and silver are found, though in no considerable quantity, in many parts of the British Islands. **alia metalla**: of these *tin* was the most abundant, and was brought south by the Phoenicians, who probably secured most of it from Cornwall and the Κασσιτερίδες, or Tin Islands, usually identified with the Scilly Islands. The supply seems to have been exhausted at the beginning of our era, which may be the reason why Tacitus does not expressly speak of this ancient and famous trade here. After the Roman invasion, *lead* (*plumbum nigrum et album*, *stannum*) occupies commercially the first place. *Iron* is mentioned by Caesar (*B. G.* V. 12, 5), and Strabo l.c. *Bronze* was even in Caesar's time imported, and but few bronze objects have been discovered. **pretium** = *praemium*, *reward*. So ch. 1, 9, and often in Tacitus.

8. gignit et Oceanus margarita: a very concise expression for *Oceanus quoque pretium victoriae dat, nam margarita gignit.* See *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **subfusca ac liventia**: according to Plin. *N. H.* IX. 35, 57, 116, they were *parvi . . . discolores*, but Beda (I. 4) says that, while but small and few in number, they were variegated in color.

9. artem abesse legentibus: the desire to formulate an epigrammatic antithesis had led T. into an incongruity, for it was not so much the lack of *skill* in the *legentes*, but an absence of *legentes* altogether, for the reason given.

10. Rubro Mari: i.e. the Persian Gulf; the latter name, though rare, also occurs. **viva ac spirantia**: so combined in Cic. *pro dom.* 52, 134. **saxis avelli**: *saxis* is probably ablative.

11. avelli . . . conligi: depending upon a verb like *constat*, to be supplied by zeugma from the indirect discourse introduced by *arbitrantur*, hence also the subjunctive in *expulsa sint*. **ego**: here expressed to contrast with *quidam*, the adversative particle being, as so often in Tacitus, omitted. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

12. naturam: *good quality.*

13. avaritiam: sc. *abesse*, to be supplied by an easy zeugma from *deesse*. See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

Chapter 13. 14 ff. ipsi . . . serviant: this short paragraph gives the result, by anticipation, of the Roman campaigns against the Britons up to the point of Agricola's arrival. The following historical survey takes the place of the usual σύγκρισις, or comparison which, according to the rules of the ancient rhetoricians, constituted

an essential feature of every artistically composed *encomium*. See *Introd.* p. xvii.

14. Ipsi Britanni here marks, with Tacitus's usual skill, the transition from the natural resources which the *country* offered the conquerors, to what its *inhabitants* contributed to the carrying on of the functions of the government. **et iniuncta imperii munera**: i.e. the *remaining* burdens imposed by the imperial government. On the ellipsis of *cetera*, see note ch. 6, 29.

15. obeunt: to be joined by zeugma to *dilectum* (*ferunt*) and *tributa* (*faciunt*). See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

17. Igitur: *Igitur* at the beginning of a sentence is the rule in Tacitus. One of the *seven* exceptions occurs ch. 16, 20. This particle often, so again ch. 29, 25, introduces a new topic, here foreshadowed by the last clause, *domiti*, etc. **primus**, etc.: i.e. in 55 and 54 B.C.

20. ostendisse . . . tradidisse: Caesar's expeditions to Britain, on the whole, proved unsuccessful, and he is, therefore, said merely to have directed the attention of Romans to the expediency of its conquest. From a purely historical point of view, however, the invasion was a very noteworthy event. **Mox**: *subsequently*. This is by far the commoner meaning of the word in Tacitus. **bella civilia**: 49–45 B.C. and 44–31 B.C. **et . . . arma**: the *et* clause is epexegetic. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

21. principum: *leaders*, i.e. Caesar, and Pompey with his followers, Augustus, Brutus, Cassius, and Antony. **oblivio**: sc. *sequebantur*.

22. consilium, etc.: *a settled policy*. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* I. 11, *addideratque* (sc. *Augustus in suo testamento*) *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*. Contemporary poets, however, repeatedly attributed to him the design of conquering Britain, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* III. 5, 2; Prop. II. 10 (III. 1) 17 f. **id**: sc. *oblivio*. On the substitution of the partial antecedent (*longa oblivio*), see ch. 10, 22; 12, 32.

23. Tiberius: the title *divus* is, as in the case of Caligula, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian, never added, because these emperors were not deified after death. **praeceptum**: cp. Tac. *Ann.* I. 77, *neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius* (sc. *Augusti*), and esp. IV. 37, *qui omnia facta dictaque eius* (sc. *Augusti*) *vice legis observem*; 32, *proferendi imperii incuriosus* (sc. *Tiberius*). **Agitasse . . . constat**: *constat*, in Tacitus, except here, ch. 43, 10, and *Hist.* III. 29, *inrupisse militem . . . constat*, always precedes the ac-

cusative with infinitive. — On the brachylogy involved, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

24. velox: with a genitive is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, but similar constructions, under the influence of the Augustan poets, soon found their way into later prose, and Tacitus furnishes many instances of the extension of this usage. **mobili ingenio**: *by reason of his changeable disposition.* The abl. is causal. — *fuisset* must be supplied from *fuissent.*

26. frustra fuissent: *had been thwarted, gone for naught.* In this sense first in Ennius ap. Gell. *N. A.* XVIII. 2, 7 (p. 158 V.). In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 75. — This mock campaign (in 40 A.D.) is repeatedly held up to ridicule. Cp. *Germ.* 37, 20, *ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.* **auctor iterati operis**: in 43 A.D. Caesar had preceded him.

28. Vespasiano: as Dio Cassius's detailed narrative (LX. 19 ff.) shows, he was legatus of the second legion, the consular legate being A. Plautius. The emperor appeared on the scene subsequently, but remained only sixteen days. Cp. also Suet. *Vesp.* 4, where it is said that he subdued two powerful tribes, captured over twenty towns and the Isle of Wight. **venturae mox fortunae**: *the exalted rank subsequently in store for him.* He became emperor twenty-nine years later, in 69 A.D., having sprung from an obscure family, the gens Flavia. On *fortuna* = imperial rank, cp. ch. 7, 13; *Hist.* I. 10.

29. et monstratus fatis: the fates are here personified, and said to have drawn the attention of the Romans to Vespasian as a man worthy of still higher honors. — On *et* after an asyndeton, the last member being, as often, when a new idea is added, amplified, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. *fatis* is the dative of agent for an ablative with *a* or *ab*, on which see note ch. 2, 17.

Page 10. Chapter 14. 1. Aulus Plautius: *Aulus Plautius*, consul suffectus 29 A.D., legatus of Dalmatia or Pannonia 41–43, of Britain 43–47. Of all the predecessors of Agricola, his successes seem to have been the most conspicuous, hence he is dismissed with a bare mention, his achievements being, moreover, attributed to Vespasian, a subordinate officer. See note above.

2. subinde: *immediately thereafter.* Except in Livy, a poetic and post-Augustan expression. **Ostorius Scapula**: *P. Ostorius Scapula*, legatus of Britain 47–51 A.D., received the *triumphalia ornamenta*, for his defeat and capture of Caractacus. Cp. *Ann.* XII. 31 ff.

3. proxima pars: it seems that the subjugated regions included considerably more territory in the south and west.

4. colonia: *Camulodunum*, the modern Colchester, in Essex, fifty-one miles N.N.E. of London.

5. Cogidumno: possibly identical with the *(Co)gidubni r(egis) lega(ti) Aug(usti) in Brit(annia)* in a celebrated inscription of the time of Claudius, found in Colchester. The title *legatus Augusti* may have been bestowed upon him as an exceptional honor for his steadfast loyalty to Rome.

6. vetere ac iam pridem: the same synonyms are combined in *Hist.* II. 38.

7. ut haberet: sc. *populus Romanus.*

8. et reges: *even kings*, ironically added to contrast with *servitutis.* — Examples of such royal allies in Roman history are Massinissa, Attalus, Eumenes, Prusias, Juba, Herod, Tigranes, Artavasdes, Cotys. — With the emphatic position of the phrase, cp. *Dial.* 40, 26, *nec tanti . . . Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges.* **Didius Gallus**: *A. Didius Gallus*, born about 10 A.D., curator aquarum 38–49, legatus of Moesia c. 50(?), of Britain 51–57. **fama aucti officii**: i.e. by these actions he sought to gain the reputation of having added luster to his administration.

11. Q. Veranius: consul in 49 A.D., legatus propraetore of Lycia (under Claudius), legatus of Britain 58/59. Cp. *Ann.* XIV. 29. **isque**: *but he.* The adversative use of *que* is common in T., and not rare in previous writers. Cp. e.g. ch. 17, 13.

12. Suetonius Paulinus: cp. note ch. 5, 23.

13. firmatis praesidiis = *firmis praesidiis positis.* So again ch. 35, 13. **quorum fiducia**: *relying upon these two achievements;* so *per quae* above includes two antecedents.

14. Monam insulam: the modern Anglesey, subsequently invaded by Agricola (ch. 18, 4 ff.). **rebellibus**: a poetical word, found in Vergil and Ovid, but rare in post-Augustan prose, except in Curtius and in Tacitus.

15. terga occasioni patefecit: i.e. he gave an opportunity to the enemy to attack his rear. The bold personification is apparently a Tacitean coinage. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxvii.

Chapter 15. **16. agitare . . . conferre**: *debated . . . talked over.* Cp. *Ann.* I. 5, *haec atque talia agitantibus; Dial.* 42, 32, *de eis rursus conferemus.*

17. interpretando accendere: *exaggerating in the heat of discussion.* **nihil**, etc.: similar complaints are attributed to Boudicca in *Ann.* XIV. 35, and in the elaborate speech which Dio Cassius (LXII. 2 ff.) put into her mouth. — On the rhetorical character of these speeches and their purpose, see *Introd.* p. xv. — Noteworthy rhetorical features, accumulated in this short passage, are: *anaphora* (ll. 21. 23. 24. 4); *asyndeton* (ll. 20. 26. 30 f. 2); *antithesis* (ll. 19 f. 21. 25); *rhythmical endings*, or *clausulae*, on which see note ch. 30, 12 (ll. 19. 22. 25. 30. 31. 1. 3. 6. 7). — The verb of saying must be supplied from *interpretando*; see *Introd.* p. xxxi.

19. tamquam: giving the reason of others, not the author's. This is a Graecism (ὡς) and frequent in Tacitus. **ex facili** = *facile*, ἐξ ἑτοίμου, similar instances occurring with increasing frequency after Cicero. The same phrase is especially common in Seneca; in T. again *Hist.* III. 49. For other Graecisms in this treatise, cp. notes ch. 18, 23; 20, 14. 20; 29, 21; 34, 28.

20. e quibus, etc.: observe the prolepsis, *legatus* and *procurator* being, for the sake of conciseness, put into the relative clause. The regular form would have been: *legatus et procurator, e quibus ille . . . hic.* Cp. *Ann.* I. 8 and *Introd.* p. xxx.

21. procurator: their covetousness was notorious. Cp. 7, 7. **aeque . . . aeque**: for *aeque . . . quam*, or *ac*. In anaphora also Hor. *Ep.* I. 1. 25 f., but apparently not elsewhere.

23. Alterius . . . alterius: with the first understand *legati*, with the second, *procuratoris manus*, *centuriones* being in apposition to the former, *servos* to the latter. **vim et contumelias miscere**: cp. the phrase, '*To add insult to injury*,' and with the sentiment, the complaint of Boudicca in *Ann.* XIV. 31.

25. exceptum = *exemptum*. So *Germ.* 18, 20; 25, 9, and twice in the second part of the *Annals* (XIV. 49; XV. 46), in which Tacitus often returns to his earlier usage.

26. ignavis plerumque et imbellibus: the same collocation occurs in *Germ.* 12, 19; 31, 16. — *plerumque*, as belonging to both adjs., is placed between them; see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **eripi domos**: this remarkable figure, for *pellere domibus*, is chosen for the sake of syntactical symmetry with the succeeding members of the asyndeton.

27. tamquam . . . nescientibus: i.e. in the belief that we know how to die well enough, but not in behalf of our country. — On *tamquam*, see l. 19.

28. Quantulum: like *quantus quisque, how few.* The diminutive here emphasizes the relative smallness of the enemy's number when compared to *their* multitudes.

29. Sic: i.e. in the same way as we shall do now. **Germanias**: if the allusion, as is likely, is to the defeat of Varus by Arminius in 9 A.D., the plural is rhetorical for *Germaniam inferiorem*, which would have been too cumbrous and pedantic.

31. et = *et praeterea.* Cp. note ch. 11, 5. **causas**: *incentives.*

32. Divus Iulius: *even Caesar had to retreat, god though he be.* For a similar sarcasm, cp. *Ann.* I. 59, *ille inter numina dicatus Augustus.* Here the irony is somewhat out of place, as *Divus* could not refer to an act of the living Caesar; but so Caesar is called *dictator* by an analogous anachronism in the passage cited below. **Recessuros . . . aemularentur**: supply respectively *Romanos* and *Britanni.* These different subjects would be more clearly designated in direct discourse (*recedent . . . aemulemur*). Cp. the similar sentiment in Tac. *Ann.* XII. 34, *vocabatque* (sc. Caractacus) *nomina maiorum qui dictatorem Caesarem pepulissent.* **modo**: for *si modo* or *dummodo.* In Tacitus only here and *Ann.* II. 14.

Page 11. 3. Iam . . . etiam: if *Britannorum* had not intervened, T. would have said *iam et.* See note ch. 30, 30.

5. in alia insula: observe that Boudicca is here supposed to have known that Britain was an island. On such inconsistencies, see notes ch. 31, 15 and 10, 17.

6. fuerit: for *fuit* in direct discourse. — On the thought, see ch. 12, 25 ff.

7. audere: used absolutely; in the minor works only here.

Chapter 16. 8. His atque talibus: a Sallustian phrase, e.g. *Jug.* 64, 3, occurring no fewer than twenty-two times in Tacitus. **Boudicca**: wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni. Her tragic history is given in detail in *Ann.* XIV. 31 ff. and Dio Cass. LXII. 1 ff.

9. sexum . . . discernunt: in *Ann.* XIV. 35, Boudicca more correctly says, *solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare*, for the evidence available seems to make against the assumption of female *rulers* among Celtic tribes, except in rare instances, and Tacitus himself (*Germ.* 45, 30 f.) mentions the custom as a proof of the low and servile character of the Germanic Sitones. **sumpsere . . . bellum**: a Sallustian expression, copied from Thucydides, e.g. III.

39, 3, and often used by Tacitus to avoid the trite phrase *arma sumere*. See *Introd.* p. xxxv.

10. sparsos . . . praesidiis: this statement is at variance with the account in *Ann.* XIV. 33.

12. in barbaris = *apud barbaros usitatum*.

13. omisit ira et victoria: *wrath incited by victory*. On the singular predicate and the epexegetic *et*, see *Introd.* p. xxx. — According to *Ann.* XIV. 33, the towns of *London* and *Verulam* were sacked, the ninth legion all but exterminated, and some seventy thousand persons massacred. This figure is doubtless an exaggeration, but it nevertheless proves this to have been one of the most disastrous defeats which Rome ever sustained. **quod nisi**: *and were it not that*. So again ch. 26, 22.

16. tenentibus = *retinentibus*.

17. proprius: *special, personal*. **ex legato timor**: *fear of the legate*. In this causal sense the preposition is very frequent in Tacitus, particularly with *metus*.

19. suae quisque iniuriae ultor: *avenging every insult, as if directed against himself*, but the reading is doubtful. This suspicion, spread by the enemies of Paulinus, was the cause of his recall. Cp. *Ann.* XIV. 38 f.

20. Missus, like *ausus* below, is the participle, not the finite verb with *est* understood. **Petronius Turpilianus**: *P. Petronius Turpilianus*, consul 61 A.D., legatus Britanniae 61–63, curator aquarum 63–64, received the *triumphalia ornamenta* in 65. He was executed as a partisan of Nero by Galba in 68. **tamquam**: *on the alleged ground*. Cp. ch. 15, 19.

21. novus: *unacquainted with*. So Sil. Ital. VI. 254, *novus dolori*. In this sense *novus* and *exorabilior*, immediately preceding, are found in Tacitus only here. **paenitentiae**: abstract for concrete. Cp. ch. 20, 15; 44, 3; 45, 1, 23.

22. prioribus: neuter, and so frequently in T. Cp. note 41, 1. **Trebellio Maximo**: *M. Trebellius Maximus*, a novus homo, consul in 55 or 56 A.D., legatus Britanniae 63–69 A.D. — Observe the repetition of the name below, in place of *qui* or *is*, a favorite device of the author.

23. et nullis castrorum experimentis: sc. *vir*, ablative of quality. *Without military experience*. For this meaning of the substantive, cp. e.g. ch. 19, 23. *Et* before a negative, here in place of *neque ullis*, is perhaps more common in Tacitus than in any other Latin writer.

24. curandi: sc. *officii.* The absolute use occurs e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 60, 1 and in Tacitus again, *Ann.* XI. 22.

25. Didicere: on the emphatic position, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **ignoscere**: said with a tinge of irony.

26. civilium armorum: i.e. the struggles between Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian in 68/69 A.D.

29. fuga: he finally took refuge with Vitellius. Cp. *Hist.* I. 60.

30. praecario praefuit: *governed on sufferance.*

31. pacti: sc. *sunt.* They *compromised*, the army retaining its mutinous disposition, the general his life. **et**: *and thus.* Cp. 3, 18. **seditio sine sanguine stetit**: observe the alliteration, on which cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

32. Vettius Bolanus: cp. note ch. 8, 22.

Page 12. **1. agitavit** = *exagitavit*, i.e. he did not stir up Britain by any military activity. The verb is a favorite of Tacitus. **erga** = *adversus.* Cp. note ch. 5, 9.

Chapter 17. **6. et minuta**: sc. *est.* — On *et* after an asyndeton, the third member being amplified and adding a new idea, see the exact parallel, ch. 13, 29, and *Introd.* p. xxviii.

7. Petilius Cerialis: cp. note ch. 8, 26.

8. Brigantium civitatem: a powerful tribal confederacy in what is now northern England.

9. perhibetur: because little was known about the numerical strength of the tribes in the north of Caledonia, which is included under the term *totius provinciae.*

11. victoria amplexus aut bello: i.e. he subdued some tribes in a single battle, others in a series of campaigns. — On the position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

12. alterius in the sense of *alius.* Cp. note ch. 5, 6. **obruisset**: sc. *si diutius in Britannia mansisset.* He was governor from 71–74 A.D. — *obruere*, to *throw into the shade.* So again ch. 46, 30 and *Dial.* 38, 22.

13. sustinuitque: on the adversative force of *que*, see note ch. 14, 11. **Iulius Frontinus**: *S. Iulius Frontinus*, one of the most distinguished men of his time, praetor urbanus in 70 A.D.; three times consul, 74, 98, 100 A.D.; legatus Britanniae about 74/5–77; proconsul of Asiae about 93; curator aquarum 97; a friend of Martial and Pliny, and the author of many technical works, of which the *Strate-*

gemata and the famous *de aquis urbis Romae* are extant. He died about 103/104. **vir magnus**: cp. Plin. *Epist.* IV. 8, 3, *Frontino, principi viro.* **quantum licebat**: to be taken with *sustinuitque molem.*

14. Silurum: cp. note ch. 11, 4.

15. virtutem . . . difficultates: observe the chiasmus.

Chapter 18. The fact that such brilliant men as Cerialis and Frontinus, in spite of occasional successes, after all failed to pacify Britain doubly enhanced the achievements of their successor, Agricola, to the detailed narrative of whose campaign (78–83 A.D.) the biographer now turns (ch. 18–38). See *Introd.* pp. xii. xvii.

17. media iam aestate: July, 78 A.D. He arrived about September; see below *transvecta aestas.* **milites . . . occasionem**: observe the libration of clauses.

19. velut: used like *tamquam;* see note ch. 15, 19.

20. verterentur: here, as often in Tacitus, with the force of a middle. **Ordovicum**: the Ordovices were a tribe dwelling in the central and northern parts of Wales. They are mentioned as allies of Caractacus, king of the Silures.

21. alam: in the military organization of the Empire, an *ala* was a troop of cavalry 500–1000 strong. **agentem**: *stationed*, a military term. **prope universam**: Tacitus generally thus modifies expressions that may seem exaggerated. Cp. e.g. below, l. 2; *Hist.* I. 50, *prope eversum orbem;* 80, *prope urbi excidio fuit.*

22. erecta: sc. *est.*

23. quibus bellum volentibus erat = *qui bellum volebant*, a noteworthy Graecism, first used by Sall. *Iug.* 84, 3, *plebi . . . volenti ⟨esse⟩ putabatur*, in imitation of Thucydides, e.g. II. 3, 2, τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ . . . ἦν, the verb of wishing being attracted in case to a dative which depends on εἰμι, γίγνομαι, or *esse.* In Tacitus again, *Hist.* III. 43, *Maturo ceterisque remanere . . . volentibus fuit.* **probare exemplum**: *tested his conduct, style of warfare.* **ac**: *and at the same time.* For the force of the conjunction, cp note ch. 10, 24, and 9, 13 (*et*).

24. recentis legati animum opperiri: *awaited what kind of spirit the newly arrived legate would show.* This pregnant use of *opperiri* occurs repeatedly in Tacitus. — The more warlike Britons wanted to make trial of Agricola's military qualities by occasional

attacks, before they ventured upon a general uprising, but his energetic movements thwarted this waiting policy.

25. transvecta aestas: a Tacitean metaphor found only here and *Hist.* II. 76. See *Introd.* p. xxxvii. **numeri**: *detachments*, a post-Augustan military term.

26. praesumpta . . . quies: the *omissa expeditio* mentioned above, due probably to the absence of the legate Frontinus, who had returned to Rome in 77, led the soldiers to believe that they would enjoy a similar rest in the present year. — The three asyndetic groups constitute a climax, the increasing amplification corresponding to the relative importance of each statement. **tarda et contraria**: *all matters involving delays and obstacles.* The two terms are in apposition with the preceding clauses. — *tarda*, in a transitive sense, is poetic and is first found in Hor. *Sat.* I. 9, 32, but in prose apparently only here.

27. suspecta: i.e. regions suspected of hostile designs.

28. potius: *the best plan.* Our idiom requires the superlative, for *custodiri suspecta* or *ire obviam discrimini* was not the only alternative, but the comparative is often so used both in Greek and Latin; e.g. Pind. *Nem.* XI. 62; Prop. I. 2, 10; Tac. *Dial.* 35, 2; Juv. I. 19.

29. vexillis: i.e. the *sparsi numeri* mentioned above, detached from their legions and serving under their own standards, the *vexilla*, not the regular *signa* of the army to which they belonged.

30. in aequum: *into the plain.*

Page 13. **1. ante agmen**: sc. *incedens.* On this means of encouragement, see ch. 35, 25; Caes. *B. G.* I. 25, 1; Sall. *Cat.* 59, 1.

2. erexit aciem: *led his army up the hill*, a military phrase common in Livy and Tacitus.

3. non ignarus, etc.: i.e. Agricola was not unmindful of the necessity, recognized by all great generals in history, that a victory must be quickly followed up. **prout prima cessissent** = *secundum primum eventum*, which might be defeat or victory, but the former contingency, as *terrorem* shows, is intentionally not taken into account, as being improbable in so great a general, while the subjunctive with *prout* is used to imply that Agricola himself was too confident of success to allow the other alternative to enter into his calculations.

4. possessione: *occupation*, the noun being derived from *possĭdo*, not *possĭdeo.*

6. supra memoravi: viz. ch. 14, 12 ff.

7. ut in dubiis consiliis = *ut fit i. d. c., as will happen in ill-matured plans, dubiis* being already in a measure implied in *animo intendit* as contrasted with *statuit* above. — On this elliptical *ut*, see note ch. 11, 1. **naves deerant**: owing to a straining after conciseness, the comparison is imperfectly expressed, the meaning being that as *in dubiis consiliis* the most essential things are apt to be lacking, so in this particular emergency there were no ships available. **ratio et constantia**: *generalship and determination.* On the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. xxxi; on the singular predicate, note ch. 4, 21.

8. lectissimos auxiliarium: *specially selected auxiliaries.* Probably British (see ch. 29, 27), for, if the Batavians in Agricola's army were meant (see ch. 36, 30), *lectissimos* would be out of place, as they were all known as good swimmers. Cp. *Hist.* IV. 12; *Ann.* II. 8; Dio Cass. XIX. 9; *Anth. Lat.* II. 1, 427 B. **quibus nota vada**, etc.: *to whom the fords were known* (being natives) *and who possessed a special skill in swimming.* Both *nota* and *proprius* are used predicatively. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxv.

10. seque et: so invariably in Tacitus with pronouns and occasionally with nouns. The collocation is found neither in Cicero nor Caesar, but occurs in Sallust and Livy. **ita repente inmisit**: *ita* belongs to the verb, *tam* having to be supplied with *repente*, — *he sent them in such a manner and that suddenly.*

11. qui classem, qui navis, qui mare: a descending climax, strongly marked by anaphora. *mare*, i.e. *navigation*, as opposed to land travel. So e.g. Hor. *Carm.* II. 6, 7, *lasso maris et viarum;* Tibull. I. 3, 50. Translate: *who expected to see a fleet, or at least ships, or some kind of floating craft.*

12. crediderint: the so-called historical perfect subj. after *ut* is especially common in Tacitus and Suetonius.

14. clarus ac magnus haberi: a Sallustian expression; e.g. *Cat.* 53, 1; *Iug.* 92, 1. Also Plut. *Dem.* 18. **quippe cui** for the more usual *ut qui* does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus.

15. ingredienti: on the force of the present participle, see note ch. 9, 3.

16. officiorum ambitum: *official visits* in full regalia.

17. Nec: to be taken both with *usus* and *vocabat.* So *haud* in *Ann.* III. 11 is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *intentior* and *permisit.*

18. victoriam vocabat victos: on the alliteration, cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

19. laureatis: sc. *litteris*. The laurel, being the symbol of martial victories, was sent with the official reports which commanders forwarded to the emperor. — The elliptical phrase seems to occur only here and *Hist.* III. 77.

20. famae famam: for a similar chiasmus, cp. *Ann.* I. 39, *legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris.* **aestimantibus**, etc.: i.e. people reasoned that a still greater future was in store for a man who could be reticent about achievements so noteworthy. — The construction is probably an elliptical dative rather than an ablat. abs.; see note ch. 34, 30.

21. tam magna: more emphatic than *tanta* and comparatively rare. — With the thought, cp. Justin. XI. 1, *ita moderate de se multa pollicitus est, ut adpararet plura eum experimentis reservare*, and *Ann.* II. 22, *de se nihil addit, metu invidiae an ratus conscientiam facto satis esse.*

Chapter 19. 22. animorum . . . prudens: *well acquainted with the temper.*

23. doctus per aliena experimenta: *taught by the experience of others.* So *Dial.* 34, 16, *eruditus . . . alienis experimentis.* For the meaning of *experimentum*, see note ch. 16, 24.

24. excidere: *remove, eradicate.* Cp. Cic. *de prov. consul.* 18, 43, *tristissimum tempus . . . ex animo . . . excidere.* Surgical or medical metaphors are comparatively rare in Tacitus and elsewhere in Latin, except in Cicero, who had a peculiar fondness for them.

27. nihil, etc.: sc. *agere.* Such ellipses of a verb of doing or acting, though not unusual, are particularly frequent in Tacitus. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **publicae rei**: *public business.* So again *Germ.* 13, 30. In this sense, the adjective must precede, because *res publica* always has its restricted political meaning, but in other combinations with *res* in Tacitus, the attribute as a rule follows the noun. See *Introd.* p. xxvi.

29. ascire sed optimum . . . putare = *ascire sed optimum . . . ascire quia eum . . . putabat.* On the prolepsis, see *Introd.* p. xxx.

30. exsequi: i.e. while he kept himself informed of everything, he did not always *act upon* this knowledge. The word, as shown by *poena* below, cannot here signify *to punish*, a meaning, moreover, not found elsewhere in Tacitus, though common in Livy. With the statement itself, cp. *Introd.* p. xii. 2.

31. conmodare = *adhibere.* In this sense the verb seems not to occur elsewhere. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxvii.

32. nec poena . . . contentus esse: *he considered satisfaction attained not always by punishment, but more often by repentance.* — Observe the alliterative antithesis, on which see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

Page 14. **1. officiis et administrationibus**: *official functions.* Hendiadys.

2. peccassent: the iterative subjunctive, usually with *ubi*, *ut*, *si*, or *cum*, is extremely rare in pre-Augustan Latin. It becomes more frequent in Livy and Tacitus. **Frumenti et tributorum exactionem**: *the irksome impost of corn-taxes.*

3. aequalitate munerum mollire: *he endeavored to alleviate*, etc., *by an equalization of the burdens*, i.e. the same amount of corn was not demanded in those regions, which were relatively poor in corn production, some other tax being substituted. — On the accumulation of the historical infinitives, eight in all, see note ch. 5, 28. **circumcisis**, etc.: *doing away with the schemes devised for extortion*, viz. by former legates. In what these consisted, is explained in the following.

5 ff. Namque, etc.: the meaning of this much disputed passage seems to be this: In the districts poor in corn, the people were, as if in mockery, compelled to sit before the filled granaries which were not opened for them, but they were forced to buy provisions at a fancy price imposed by the covetous procurator; where there was plenty of corn, they were expected to carry their contributions to remote places, though a camp was in the immediate neighborhood. They were thus often induced to purchase exemption from so troublesome a task, the money going into the pockets of the officials.

6. ultro: *into the bargain.* **ludere pretio**: a phrase not found elsewhere, but perfectly correct and intelligible. The buying was a mere farce, because the officials set the purchase price without regard to the actual market value of the commodity.

7. devortia itinerum: *out-of-the-way roads.* The word is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, though its diminutive *devorticulum* is very common. This trick was a very old one, as it was practiced with success by Verres. — *itinerum* with *devortia* is superfluous, but it is added to balance *regionum*, the two terms corresponding chiastically to *remota* and *avia* below. — On the singular predicate, see note ch. 4, 21.

8. proximis hibernis: adversative ablative absolute.

9. quod omnibus in promptu, etc.: i.e. what was the poor man's only available commodity became a source of profit to a few officials. So similarly *omnes* = *οἱ πάντες*, here contrasted with *pauci* (= *οἱ ὀλίγοι*), as elsewhere with *principes*, *proceres*.

Chapter 20. 11. primo statim anno: the autumn of 78 A.D. — On the phrase *primo statim*, see note ch. 3, 13.

12. famam paci circumdedit: the same metaphor occurs in *Dial.* 37, 28 and *Περὶ ὕψους*, 1, 3, *ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περιέβαλον εὐκλείαις τὸν αἰῶνα*. **intolerantia**: *intolerable insolence*. In this active sense, the word is comparatively rare. Cp. *Ann.* XI. 10.

14. aestas: i.e. 79 A.D. **multus in agmine**: sc. *adfuit*. A Graecism first used by Sall. *Iug.* 96, 3, *in agmine . . . multus adesse* (sc. *Sulla*) and thereafter occasionally in other writers.

15. modestiam = *modestos*, the abstract for the concrete, cp. ch. 16, 21. In its military sense synonymous with *obsequium*, and opposed to *discordia*, here expressed by *disiectos*, *stragglers from the ranks*. Observe the chiasmus.

16. aestuaria: marshy regions near the sea and under water at high tide. Unless the topography of Britain has undergone considerable changes, the present passage would indicate that Agricola's march was along the *west* coast. **praetemptare**: *explored in advance*, a poetic and post-Augustan phrase. Cp. Ov. *Met.* XIV. 189.

17. et nihil = *neque quidquam*. Cp. note ch. 16, 23. **interim**: *at the same time*. So frequently in Tacitus. **quietum pati**: cp. Sall. *Iug.* 66, 1, *nihil intactum neque quietum pati*. **quo minus** = *quin*, *but*. A good instance of the idiomatic use of hypotaxis, esp. frequent with *quominus* and *quin*, where we prefer coördination with an adversative conjunction. Cp. e.g. Ter. *Hecyr.* I. 1, 7; Liv. I. 42, 2; Tac. *Dial.* 3, 4.

18. popularetur: the absolute use of this verb is not uncommon in Tacitus, but as he never joins a *personal* object with it, we must supply in thought some phrase like *hostium agros*.

19. rursus: *on the other hand*. So used in twenty other passages in Tacitus. **incitamenta**: *incentives*, used on the analogy of *incitamenta belli* (*Ann.* XII. 42). Cp. ch. 32, 7, *incitamenta victoriae*.

20. ex aequo: *independently*, like the Greek *ἐξ ἴσου*, *ἴσος* being often used in a political sense.

21. praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, . . . ratione curaque:

on the collocation of abstract and concrete nouns, a peculiarly Tacitean usage, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiv. — *circumdatae* is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; in its proper sense with *praesidiis*, etc., figuratively with *ratione*, etc. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. — On the medial position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

23. pariter inlacessita: *unmolested to a like degree*, i.e. the Britons were not subdued in pitched battles, Agricola arriving at the same result by a conciliatory policy. See the passage above (*nihil . . . ostentare*). — The verb seems to be a Tacitean coinage, and occurs again *Germ.* 36, 17.

24. transierit: sc. *ad Romanos.* For a similar absolute use, cp. Liv. XXVI. 12, 6, *ut qui civis . . . transisset* (of deserters).

Chapter 21. 25. in bella faciles: *faciles* with *in*, in place of *ad*, as also elsewhere in Tacitus, is found but rarely. With the similar expressions *pronus* and *promptus*, both *ad* and *in* are used in Tacitus.

27. privatim . . . publice: *personally . . . officially.* **templa**: a rhetorical plural, used for the sake of symmetry with *fora*, *domos*, for the temple to Claudius at Camulodunum seems to have been the only one in existence. Cp. note ch. 5, 4. — The cumulative force of the asyndeton well marks the eager haste of the Britons.

30. ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum = *ingenia et studia B. studiis et ingeniis G.* An instance of the so-called *comparatio compendiaria.* So exactly *Dial.* 1, 22, *qui nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret;* cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

32. eloquentiam: *its literature*, a common meaning in post-Augustan writers. — The truth of this statement is fairly open to question. At all events, but a few Latin derivatives have survived in English from the time of the Roman occupation, as e.g. mile, port, street, wall, wine, -wick (*vicus*), -chester (*castra*). — Cp. also Juv. XV. 111, *Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos De conducendo loqui tur iam rhetore Thule.*

Page 15. 1. habitus nostri honor: *our dress became fashionable*, the verb, as usual after *inde*, being omitted. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **et frequens toga**: sc. *adspiciebatur, and as a result the toga was often seen.* On this epexegetic *et*, cp. note ch. 1, 5.

2. delenimenta vitiorum: *effeminate and profligate habits.* **porticus et . . . et**: the polysyndeton emphasizes each element in

the enumeration. See *Introd.* p. xxvii. **balineas**: e.g. at *Aquae Sulis*, the modern *Bath*. — These enervating luxuries are denounced by Boudicca ap. Dio Cass. LXII. 6, 4, *εἴγε καὶ ἄνδρας χρὴ καλεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὕδατι θερμῷ λουομένους, ὄψε σκευαστὰ ἐσθίοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον πίνοντας, μυρῷ ἀλειφομένους.*

3. Idque: for *eaque*. So ch. 43, 8, *cura illud*. Regularly attracted in ch. 4, 3; 7, 8. **apud** = *inter*. So often. **imperitos**: *fools, the illiterate.*

4. pars = *argumentum, proof.* For this meaning, cp. *Hist.* II. 47; III. 46; IV. 86. With the thought, cp. *Hist.* IV. 64, *voluptatibus quibus Romani plus adversus subiectos quam armis valent*, and ch. 16, 25.

Chapter 22. **5. Tertius annus . . . aperuit**: 80 A.D. — With the personification, cp. note ch. 1, 2.

6. vastatis = *devastatis* is rarely applied to persons except in Tacitus. **Tanaum**: the location of this alleged estuary is undeterminable, except that it was in the west, and, as *novas gentes* shows, north of the territory of the Brigantes, and not far from the Clota (Clyde).

7. Qua formidine = *cuius cladis f.* — A very common brachylogical use of the pronoun, occurring as early as Plautus.

9. spatium: *time.* **Adnotabant**, etc.: the same is predicated of *Hannibal* (Liv. XXXV. 14, 9), of *Philopoemen* (id. XXXV. 28, 1), and of *Vespasian* (Tac. *Hist.* II. 5).

10. opportunitates locorum = *opportuna loca.* Cp. e.g. *Hist.* III. 34, *opportunitate fluminum* (= opportunis fluminibus).

11. aut . . . aut pactione ac fuga: *ac* is used for *aut* in the third member, because the two nouns form *one* group, opposed to *vi . . . expugnatum*, the former (*pactione*) preceding the actual attack of a besieging enemy, the latter (*fuga*) his arrival. With the collocation, cp. *Hist.* II. 37, *aut exercitus . . . aut legatos ac duces.*

13. nam, like *enim*, often implies an ellipsis. So far from sustaining any losses, the Romans frequently assumed the *offensive* (*crebrae eruptiones*), for they were well supplied with provisions, which rendered them secure against a protracted blockade.

14. intrepida: the winter passed without disturbance from the enemy. In this sense, the word is found in Tacitus only here.

15. inritis, of persons is poetic; in prose first in Vell. Pat. II. 63, 2.

16. soliti plerumque: a pleonasm of frequent occurrence; e.g. Lucret. II. 954; Caes. *B. G.* III. 8, 2; Sall. *Iug.* 7, 5. **eventibus**: here, *successes*. See note ch. 8, 30.

17. pensare (= *compensare*, which does not occur in Tacitus) is chiefly poetic and post-Augustan. **iuxta** = *pariter, aeque*. So used in six other passages of Tacitus, but in the smaller works only here.

18. Agricola, etc.: this seemingly irrelevant paragraph is added at this particular point in the narrative, because the above-mentioned successes were won at some distance from headquarters, and without the general's previous knowledge or upon his initiative, a fact utilized by the biographer to emphasize certain noteworthy qualities of Agricola, which this circumstance had revealed, and his readiness to bestow praise in turn naturally leads to a brief statement concerning his temper generally. Cp. *Introd.* p. xii.

19. centurio . . . praefectus: officers of the infantry and cavalry respectively. **inconruptum . . . testem habebat**: *used to find in him an impartial estimator (appraiser) of his deed, testis* being here used in a very peculiar sense; for this conduct was, of course, not confined to achievements which he actually witnessed, as is clear from the context.

20. Apud = *inter*. Cp. note ch. 21, 3.

21. et = *et vero, and in fact*. Cp. ch. 10, 12. **bonis . . . adversus malos**: on the change of construction, characteristic of Tacitus, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. **iniucundus**: not elsewhere used in Tacitus, and very rarely applied to persons; e.g. Quint. X. 1, 124. — With the statement, cp. Xen. *Ages.* 11, 10, *πρᾳότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὤν, ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος ἦν*.

22. secretum, etc.: i.e. unlike e.g. Domitian (ch. 39, 17; 42, 20) and Tiberius (*Ann.* I. 69, *odia in longum iaciens quae reconderet auctaque promeret*), he gave expression to his indignation when in anger, but did not secretly cherish any further resentment. **ut . . . timeres**: for the subjunctive, cp. ch. 12, 31, *ut internoscas*.

23. offendere . . . odisse: on the alliterative antithesis, cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

Chapter 23. 25. Quarta aestas: i.e. 81 A.D. **obtinendis**: the final dative with gerundive is very rare in the minor works. Cp. ch. 22, 9; 31, 11; 45, 22, and *Germ.* 11, 4.

27. pateretur: on the singular predicate, see note ch. 4, 21. —

The imperfect is here used for the pluperfect, because the Roman principle of completely subjugating what was in reach still held good. **inventus**: sc. *erat*, not *esset*, for, although the subjunctive of *esse* is frequently omitted, when another subjunctive has preceded (cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii.), the rhetorical use of the indicative in the apodosis of conditional clauses contrary to fact is one of the characteristic features of Tacitean syntax. Here it marks an emphatic contrast to the unreality of the protasis, which in all like instances, except *Hist.* IV. 19, precedes.

28. Clota et Bodotria: the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, the line itself stretching approximately from *Greenock* (near Glasgow) to *Edinburgh*. **diversi**: *opposite*. See note ch. 11, 8. **per immensum** = *per magnum spatium*. Such expressions are exceedingly common in Tacitus. See note ch. 10, 13.

29. spatio: *strip*. About 70 miles.

30. omnis propior sinus: *the entire stretch of territory nearer to us*, i.e. the southern portions previously occupied by the Romans. For a similar meaning of *sinus*, here including the west coast and part of the interior, cp. *Germ.* 37, 26.

31. velut in aliam insulam: *aliam* skillfully marks the transition to the next chapter, dealing with Ireland. If Caledonia had been meant here, Tacitus would have said *velut in insulam*. With *firmavit* and *tenebatur* the author indicates that the Caledonian campaign in the west was satisfactorily closed, and, as a matter of fact, the subsequent scene of the conflict is shifted to the east.

Chapter 24. **32. Quinto . . . anno**: 82 A.D. **nave prima transgressus**: *crossing over* (viz. to Ireland) *for the first time with a fleet*. If, as is generally assumed, the fleet coasted northward along the shore, *transgressus* would be out of place. *Prima* is here, as often, e.g. *Germ.* 43, 5, used adverbially, and its position, while bringing it in juxtaposition with the verb, at the same time emphasizes the significance of the achievement. The name Ireland occurs first in Pytheas; Caes. *B. G.* 13, 2, also mentions the island, and subsequently many references to it, often curious, occur, but it cannot be said to have been definitely known till the time of Ptolemaeus, the famous geographer of the second century A.D. Agricola, if we except occasional traders, seems to have been, in fact, the first Roman to set foot upon Ireland, nor was it again invaded in Roman times. The point of departure cannot be accurately determined. See map.

Page 16. 1. ignotas ad id tempus gentis: so similarly ch. 10, 17, a much more emphatic phrase than the one referring to the Caledonians in ch. 22, 5. **crebris . . . domuit**: Cp. what is said of the equally unsuccessful invasion of Britain by Caesar, ch. 13, 17 ff. — On the position of *simul*, see note ch. 6, 23, and *Introd.* p. xxvi.

2. eamque: *-que* in joining sentences never adds entirely unrelated ideas, hence the first paragraph cannot refer to the Caledonians.

3. adspicit: for the more usual *spectat*, probably because Ireland is actually visible from some parts of the English coast. **copiis instruxit**: if this paragraph pertained to a campaign against the Caledonians, Agricola would have protected his rear after his return. If, on the other hand, he garrisoned the place with a view to a subsequent, *second* expedition to Ireland, it was a proper and necessary strategic measure. **in spem**: i.e. he hoped to reinvade and conquer Ireland some day, when better equipped for the task, the difficulty of which he probably underestimated. Cp. ll. 13 ff. **ob formidinem**: This phrase shows that *in spem* cannot refer, as is universally assumed, to a contemplated invasion, destined never to be realized, for in that case, there would have been no conceivable reason for apprehending an attack from a hitherto unknown and unmolested island. — On the change of the preposition, see ch. 5, 1.

5. opportuna: *easily accessible, favorably situated.*

6. magnis in vicem usibus = *m. et mutuis usibus.* On the adjectival use of the adverb and its position, see note ch. 10, 8.

7. miscuerit: *shall have united*, i.e. when subdued. In this more general sense the verb is common in Tacitus, but comparatively rare elsewhere. **angustius**: an understatement.

8. nostri maris: i.e. the Mediterranean, a term which seems not to occur before Solinus (250 A.D.). **superat**: Ireland, with an area of 32,337 square miles, exceeds Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, by 22,401 square miles.

9. ingenia cultusque . . . differunt: observe the symmetrical grouping with *solum caelumque.* The same phrase occurs in Mela, II. 1, 9, *ingenia cultusque gentium differunt.* — The statement itself is at variance with the accounts given by earlier writers, e.g. Strabo, IV. 5, 4; Mela, III. 6. **a Britannia** = *a solo caeloque et ingeniis cultuque Britannorum*, an instance of *comparatio compendiaria.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

10. per commercia et negotiatores: probably British traders,

but their information, as in the case of the *mercatores* questioned by Caesar, was of a very unsatisfactory description. — On the collocation of an abstract and concrete noun, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

13. in occasionem: i.e. he was retained as a useful informant for a contemplated second expedition. **ex eo**: sc. *Agricola*, not *regulo*, for Tacitus could not have met this Irish chieftain. — This, ch. 4, 15, and ch. 44, 30 are the only passages in this treatise in which Agricola is directly cited as one of Tacitus's sources of information.

14. legione una et modicis auxiliis: the chiasmus emphasizes *una* and *modicis*, and thus gives additional force to Agricola's sanguine conviction in the matter. **debellari**: a poetic word, occurring first in Vergil.

15. adversus . . . profuturum: *would redound to the advantage of*. The preposition expresses merely *relation towards*, the hostile or friendly sense being given by the context (*profuturum*), a usage more common in Tacitus than in previous writers.

16. arma: sc. *essent*. On the ellipsis of the subjunctive of *esse*, especially when another subjunctive is added, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

Chapter 25. **18. Ceterum**: a particle often used by Tacitus on the resumption of a subject after a digression, for the brief account of the unsuccessful expedition to Ireland is of that nature. **sextum . . . annum**: 83 A.D.

20. ultra: used as an adjective; cp. note ch. 10, 8.

22. primum adsumpta in partem virium: i.e. Agricola now for the first time used this fleet as an integral part of his forces. *primum* must not be too closely pressed, for, if we take it in the sense of *tunc primum*, the statement would be at variance with ch. 24, 22; if understood to mean that he was the first Roman governor of Britain to do so, the assertion is also questionable. For a similarly loose use of *primus*, cp. Lucret. V. 336 f.; Hor. *Carm.* III. 30, 13; *Epist.* I. 6, 48.

Observe how in the following paragraph (ll. 23–31) the style at once assumes a rhetorical coloring in passing from plain narrative to vivid description, here seen in the use of *anaphora* (ll. 23. 25 f. 27), *libration of clauses* (ll. 26 f.), *poetic* or *peculiar phrases* (ll. 23. 25. 26. 28. 31), and *oxymoron* (ll. 30 f.).

23. egregia specie: sc. *res*. Ablative of quality with the usual ellipsis. **simul . . . simul**: a Vergilian correlation, found in Livy and often in Tacitus. **bellum impelleretur**: the verb belongs

strictly speaking only to *mari*, and is joined to *terra* by a slight zeugma. The phrase is poetic and occurs only here.

24. castris: on the ablative of place where, see note ch. 12, 4. **pedes equesque**: *the army*, the two terms joined by *-que* forming one group, to which *et* adds *nauticus miles, the navy*. Cp. note ch. 12, 3.

25. copiis et laetitia: *joyfully sharing their rations*. On the collocation of the concrete and abstract, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

26. adtollerent: sc. *laudibus, praised to the skies*. With this meaning the absolute use of the verb is poetic, but very common in Tacitus. **modo . . . adversa**: observe the symmetrical libration.

27. hinc . . . hinc: for *inde* (viz. *pedes equesque*) . . . *hinc* (viz. *nauticus miles*). This correlation is also Vergilian. **militari iactantia**, etc.: the passage bears a remarkable resemblance to Lucan, *Phars.* IV. 196 ff., *et miles castris permixtus . . . concordes caespite mensas Instituunt . . . Extrahit insomnis bellorum fabula noctes Quo primum steterint campo, quo lancea dextra Exierit, dum quae gesserunt fortia, iactant*. Cp. also *Hist.* II. 21; *Ann.* II. 24.

29. Britannos quoque: this is slightly illogical, owing to a desire for conciseness, for the Romans of course were not stupefied at the sight of the fleet, but were on the contrary inspired with enthusiasm.

30. tamquam: *believing as they did*. Cp. note ch. 15, 19. **aperto . . . secreto . . . clauderetur**: *by opening up the unknown parts of the sea . . . they closed*. — The oxymoron is very effective, special attention being directed to it by the respective positions of the contrasted terms. — With the following paragraph Tacitus returns to the narrative style.

32. manus et arma: the more specific term added to the generic, on which see *Introd.* p. xxx. — Observe the ellipsis of *igitur*. Cp. ch. 13, 15 (nam) *has*.

Page 17. **1. paratu magno, maiore fama**, etc.: on the chiasmus, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. — The thought seems to be a commonplace. Cp. ch. 30, 25; *Ann.* III. 44, *cuncta, ut mos famae, in maius credita*, and Thucyd. VI. 34, 7. — *paratu* = *adparatu*, in the smaller works only here.

3. citra: *beyond*. Here in its regular, local sense, cp. note ch. 1, 12.

4. quam = *quam ut* after *magis, potius*, etc. is found as early as Plautus and Terence. In Tacitus only here and in six passages of the *Annals*. **prudentium** = *prudentiae*. Cp. note ch. 4, 11.

5. cognoscit: sc. *Agricola*. The subject is easily supplied, because the report of the council of war (*regrediendum . . . admonebant*) necessarily implies the presence of the commanding general. **pluribus** = *compluribus*, a confusion first met with in [Caes.] *Bell. Africanum*. In Tacitus it occurs sporadically in the minor works, more frequently in the *Histories* and the *Annals*.

6. superante numero . . . circumiretur: *lest he be surrounded, owing to the enemies' superior numbers, and put at a disadvantage by reason of their knowledge of the territory.* — *numero* is an instrumental, *peritia* a causal ablative, *circumiretur* being used, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, in its regular sense with *numero*, figuratively with *peritia*. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii.

7. diviso et ipse . . . exercitu: *et ipse, likewise;* for that the enemy could attack him from three sides, the north, west, and south, it was not necessary to point out expressly. — *et ipse* is a favorite phrase in Tacitus. For its peculiar position, cp. e.g. *Germ.* 37, 12, *amisso et ipse Pacŏro; Hist.* III. 82; *Ann.* IV. 56.

Chapter 26. **10. maxime invalidam**: all but exterminated by the followers of Boudicca (ch. 16), in 61 A.D., it was subsequently reënforced.

11. inter . . . inrupere: i.e. after killing the sentries they burst in right among the sleeping soldiers, thus creating a panic. — *inter: in the midst, during*, so frequently. — *ac* is epexegetic. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. — *inrupere:* sc. *castra*. The absolute use is exceedingly common in Tacitus, but in the minor works only here and ch. 25, 6.

13. edoctus: with the accusative, first in Sallust (*Cat.* 45, 1), thereafter frequent. **vestigiis insecutus**: such an ablative of place with verbs of motion, without an accusative or genitive, is especially common in Livy and Tacitus.

16. clamorem; **et . . . signa**: observe the force of *et, and then.* Particularly analogous, Tac. *Hist.* III. 24, and, after an asyndeton, as here, *Ann.* I. 25, *murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

18. securi pro: for the more usual *de* occurs in Tac. *Hist.* IV. 58, and is not rare elsewhere. It is here used because of a *de* following. — Similar antitheses are frequent; e.g. Caes. *B. C.* III. 111, 5; Sall. *Iug.* 114, 2; Liv. XXI. 41, 13; Dem. *Olyn.* I. 5. **certabant**: in Tacitus always with *de*, except *Hist.* III. 1. **quin etiam**: in Tacitus always postpositive, except *Dial.* 29, 16, and *Ann.* XII. 61. No other

instance of anastrophe of the conjunction happens to occur in this treatise, but it is exceedingly common in the larger works.

22. Quod nisi: cp. note ch. 16, 13.

Chapter 27. 24. Cuius: sc. *victoriae.* **fama**: with reference to that part of the army which had not engaged in this battle.

27. fremebant: the plural, because of the twofold aspect under which the army is viewed, as indicated by *conscientia* and *fama*, for, although Tacitus frequently has a plural predicate with a number of collective nouns, such as *plebs*, *multitudo*, *pars*, and the like, *exercitus* seems not to be so used by him, although the term occasionally includes several legions. **illi**: sc. *ignavi specie prudentium* (ch. 25, 4).

28. prompti post eventum: *became belligerent* (*aggressive*) *after the successful turn of affairs.*

29. prospera . . . imputantur: a commonplace. Cp. Sall. *Iug.* 53, 8; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 52; *Ann.* III. 53.

31. occasione et arte: *by a tricky surprise* or *coup.* For this meaning of *occasio*, cp. Caes. *B. G.* VII. 45, 9, *occasionis rem esse non proelii*, and for the use of *ars* in a bad sense, which is here required by the contrast with *virtute* and the context itself, cp. e.g. ch. 9, 16; *Dial.* 11, 14; *Hist.* I. 5; *Ann.* I. 73.

32. quo minus for *quin* is esp. common in T. Cp. ch. 20, 17.

Page 18. 2. coetibus . . . sancirent: observe the alliteration (with *c* and *s*) throughout. — *sacrificiis* is added to define *coetibus* more closely, the offerings to the gods characterizing the solemnity and seriousness of these meetings. **conspirationem**: *conspiracy*, from the Roman point of view, not *union* or *compact*, for the word is not used by Tacitus in this colorless and indefinite sense, though it is common enough elsewhere, e.g. in Cicero.

3. atque ita . . . discessum: so *Ann.* XIII. 56, *atque ita infensis utrimque animis discessum.*

Chapter 28. 4. eadem aestate: 83 A.D. — See ch. 25, 18. On Tacitus's object in telling the story of this adventure, which a modern writer would probably have given in a footnote, see *Introd.* p. xiv. **Usiporum**: a German tribe who in Tacitus's time were close neighbors of the Tencteri dwelling on the Rhine, near the modern Mayence. They were in all probability subdued in the early part of the year by

Domitian in his war against the Chatti, and immediately sent as auxiliaries to the British legions.

5. magnum ac memorabile: an exceedingly frequent alliterative collocation, occurring as early as Ter. *Heaut.* 314.

6. facinus: *deed*, a so-called *vocabulum medium* like *eventus* and *valetudo*, the context or some attributive determining whether it is used in a good or bad sense. **Occiso centurione et militibus**: observe the singular predicate with two subjects, the verb usually preceding in such cases. This is particularly frequent in ablative absolutes, the predicate here agreeing with the nearer noun. *militibus:* sc. *legionariis.* These drill-masters of recruits — the Usipi had been but recently conscribed — were technically known as *doctores campi*, and were selected from the most experienced veterans. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20 speaks of the murder of a tribune and centurions.

7. exemplum et rectores: the personal noun joined to the abstract, on which see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

8. habebantur: *were employed.* In this and kindred uses of *habere* Tacitus seems to have followed Sallust. **liburnicas**: sc. *naves*, the full form occurring only twice in Tacitus, viz. *Hist.* II. 16; III. 12. They were light war vessels, with only two banks of oars, and carried a mast amidships. The pattern, long, narrow, pointed at both ends, was taken from the Liburnians, a piratical tribe on the coast of Dalmatia.

9. ascendere: the point of departure cannot be determined. It may have been Uxellodunum, the modern Ellenborough, near Maryport, on the Cumberland coast, or more probably Galloway. See map.

10. nondum vulgato rumore, etc.: i.e. the news of their defection had not yet spread, so that those who saw them were at a loss to understand either their sudden appearance or their destination.

11. praevehebantur: Tacitus elsewhere uses *prae* for *praeter* in this and similar verbal compounds, but here it is perhaps best taken in its regular sense, signifying their helpless drifting along, the want of pilots placing them at the mercy of wind and wave.

12. utilia: sc. *cetera*, *other necessaries of life.* On the ellipsis, see note ch. 6, 29.

15. vescerentur: with the accusative, like *fungor* (*Ann.* III. 2), *potior* (*Ann.* XI. 10), is rare and archaic, but found e.g. Sall. *Hist. fragm.* 25 K. and Tib. II. 5, 64.

16. circumvecti: Dio Cass. l.c. makes them sail around Britain from east to west, thus excluding their reaching the continent.

18. Suebis . . . Frisiis: *Suebi*, according to Tac. *Germ.* 38, was a collective designation for many tribes who occupied the greater part of Germany and led a more or less nomadic life; hence their name, which means *wanderers*. A Suebic offshoot was settled by Augustus in Flanders, and these are the people probably alluded to here. The *Frisii* occupied the territory a little to the southwest, stretching from the eastern mouth of the Rhine to the Ems.

19. in nostram usque ripam: i.e. the left bank of the Rhine. This proves that Tacitus conceived the Usipi to have sailed from the west around Scotland, for on any other supposition the adventurers would have reached the Roman boundary before they were shipwrecked and captured by the more northern Suebi and Frisians. **mutatione ementium**: *commercial exchange.*

20. inlustravit: the indicative after *sunt qui* occurs occasionally in poetry, but is extremely rare in prose. In Tacitus again *Dial.* 37, 27, *sunt apud quos . . . meretur.* Here a certain number of the Usipi are specially singled out from the rest.

Chapter 29. **21. Initio aestatis**: the seventh summer, 84 A.D. **ictus . . . amisit**: strict logic would require *ictus est, filio amisso*, but the participle and finite verb have a tendency to interchange their functions, particularly when the two acts are virtually coincident. The construction is a Graecism; e.g. Xen. *Anab.* IV. 8, 25; Pind. *Nem.* VIII. 38. Frequently in Latin poetry, e.g. Lucret. V. 514; Hor. *Carm.* III. 6, 33; Lucan, VII. 581, but in prose ch. 5, 24, and *Ann.* IV. 64 seem to be the only other analogous instances.

23. plerique fortium virorum ambitiose: i.e. unlike many brave men, Agricola did not ostentatiously display his sorrow, *ambitiose* being often used in this sense. Hitherto *plerique fortium virorum*, etc., was taken in an *ironical* sense, with direct reference to the Stoics, but this is incompatible with the antithesis in *muliebriter*, nor does Tacitus elsewhere ridicule the Stoics for not practicing the ἀταραξία which they preached. On this truly Roman attitude, cp. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* II. 21, 49; Lucan, VIII. 617, and Tac. *Ann.* III. 6. **per lamenta . . . maerorem**: words denoting pain or sorrow are frequently combined in synonymic groups. Here the first more particularly expresses open, the second silent sorrow.

24. in luctu bellum, etc.: a similar conduct is attributed to Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 72) and Tiberius (*Ann.* IV. 8). **rursus** = *on the other hand.* See note ch. 20, 19.

25. pluribus = *compluribus* and below, l. 8, on which usage see note ch. 25, 5.

26. incertum: because the enemy never knew where the Romans might strike next.

27. fortissimos et longa pace exploratos: best taken as referring to two classes of natives. Agricola chose those British auxiliaries who had proved themselves specially brave. To these he added some others from the long since pacified tribes of southern Britain, whose loyalty had been tested and who had but recently been conscribed. The traditional interpretation, identifying the two, involves a contradiction, for fortitude is incompatible with *longa pax*. See ch. 11, 15 ff.

28. montem Graupium: the site of this famous battle cannot be determined, largely owing to the vagueness which generally characterizes the topographical description of battles in ancient historians. See note below, ch. 36, 26, and *Introd.* p. xvi.

Page 19. **2. pugnae prioris**: cp. ch. 26, 12 ff. **expectantes**: *looked to*, in a general sense, without implying a hope to be realized, which would not suit *servitium*.

3. tandem docti, etc.: cp. note ch. 12, 24.

4. legationibus et foederibus: the *et* is epexegetic, the two terms standing in causal relation. — The solemn compact, mentioned ch. 27, 2, must therefore, as *legationibus* here implies, be understood of other tribes in the immediate neighborhood, if not actually of various clans of one and the same tribe.

5. super triginta milia: on the indefinite number, see note ch. 37, 12. On the size of Agricola's forces, see ch. 35, 12 ff.

6. adhuc = *in addition to these*, ἐπὶ τούτοις. So frequently used in Quintilian and Tacitus, but rarely elsewhere. **armatorum**: the regular army. To these are added, in view of the emergency, the *veterani* and the *iuvenes ingenui*, probably those who had not yet gone through the solemn investiture with arms at the folk-moot or assembly, on which see Tac. *Germ.* 13, 32; 20, 29. **adfluebat**: a Vergilian phrase, e.g. *Aen.* II. 796, *ingentem comitum adfluxisse . . . numerum*.

7. cruda ac viridis senectus: another Vergilian expression, taken from *Aen.* VI. 304, *Iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus*.

8. decora gestantes: cp. what Tac. *Germ.* 31 says of the veteran warriors among the Chatti. That such decorations were also worn by Roman soldiers may be seen from *Hist.* III. 10.

9. praestans nomine Calgacus: *when one Calgacus by name, distinguished among the several chieftains.* The phrase *nomine Calgacus*, equivalent to Greek τις, is apparently an exclusively Tacitean expression and is used by him very often, but only in the case of non-Romans. — *Calgacus* owes his immortality to this solitary mention.

10. in hunc modum locutus fertur: other introductory *formulae* are e.g. *orasse fertur, his ferme verbis, in hanc sententiam.* Here, and again *Hist.* I. 15, *two* are combined, evidently to emphasize the wholly fictitious character of these two speeches. The harangue of Agricola, on the other hand, is by way of contrast introduced by *ita disseruit.* See note ch. 33, 24. On the nature and object of Calgacus's speech, see *Introd.* p. xv.

Chapter 30. 12 ff. As a rhetorical masterpiece, this speech has few equals in ancient historiography. Among the conspicuous features of its artistic construction attention may be drawn to the following: *Anaphora* (30, 1; 31, 14; 32, 7. 20), *polysyndeta* (30, 15; 31, 18. 25; 32, 21), *asyndeta* (30, 26 f. 3; 31, 23; 32, 10. 15 f. 18), *antithesis* (30, 17. 1. 2; 31, 6 f. 9 f. 13. 15 f. 21; 32, 1. 20), *synonymic combinations and fullness of expression* (31, 11 f.; 32, 5. 11. 20), *libration of clauses* (30, 15 f. 17 f. 1 f.; 31, 9 ff. 15. 20 f.; 32, 29. 1. 7 f. 15), *poetic and epigrammatic expressions* (30, 17. 19. 22 f. 24. 25. 1 f. 4 f.; 31, 12. 14. 16 f. 20 f. 27 f.; 32, 1. 3. 5. 6. 9. 10 ff. 13 f.), and, above all, it should be observed that the three qualities which, according to Cicero, are essential to an artistic style, namely, symmetry of collocation, euphony, and rhythm, are all in evidence in this speech, the two most favored rhythmical *clausulae*, namely, the *ditrochaeus* (— ∪ — ⏑) and the *cretic* (— ∪ — — ⏑ or — ∪ — — ∪ ⏓), being also specially frequent. For the former, cp. 30, 1. 3; 31, 7. 9. 12. 13 f.; 32, 1. 5. 7. 24; for the latter, cp. 30, 14. 17. 23. 30; 31, 19; 32, 17. 22.

12. causas belli: the chief of these is the insatiable avarice of the Romans. See below, ll. 29 ff. 15, 16 ff. **necessitatem**: *our present plight.*

13. animus = *spes.* So similarly *Hist.* II. 46, *bonum haberet animum.* **hodiernum diem**: the curious tautology in this extremely common phrase may perhaps be reproduced by translating: *this self-same day.*

14. initium libertatis, etc.: a sentiment very common in speeches of this nature. Cp. *Ann.* XII. 34, *illum diem . . . aut reciperandae libertatis aut servitutis aeternae initium fore*, the latter alternative

being here shrewdly reserved for the close (ch. 32, 22), when the speaker could feel that his words had taken effect.

15. nullae ultra terrae: cp. note ch. 10, 8, *nullis contra terris.* Supply *positae.* **nam**, etc.: in this clause *universi . . . terrae* explains the speaker's hope of victory, *ne mare . . . Romana* accounts for *necessitatem nostram.*

16. securum = *tutus*, not *sine cura*, occurs in Livy and post-Augustan writers, but is generally rare. **inminente . . . Romana**: Tacitus is fond of ending a period with an ablative absolute. See *Introd.* p. xxvii.

17. proelium atque arma: on this fullness of expression, cp. note ch. 25, 32.

19. pugnae: Tacitus frequently personifies *pugna*, *bellum*, and the like.

20. spem ac subsidium: an instance of Tacitean conciseness. The former encounters with the Romans were not sufficiently decisive to discourage the Britons from trying conclusions at another time with better *hope* of victory, nor did the enemy on any of the occasions mentioned prevent them from retreating in good order to a place of *safety*, when in imminent danger of defeat. The whole passage is a skillful euphemism for the ill success which had hitherto attended their efforts to expel the invaders. — On the abstract and concrete combined, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

21. eoque in ipsis penetralibus: *penetralia* denotes the innermost shrine in a temple. So Caledonia is here, by a bold metaphor, represented as the most sacred spot of Britain, the *nobilitas* being given as the reason (*eoque*) why they were thus honored. Such boasts of superiority are often referred to, e.g. *Germ.* 39, *vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant.*

22. servientium for *servitudinis.* Cp. note ch. 4, 11. The reference is to Gaul, which was supposed to be visible from more points of Britain than is possible now. Cp. note ch. 10, 7 f., and map.

23. terrarum ac libertatis extremos: an abstract noun joined to the concrete, *extremos* being used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; in its regular local sense with the first, figuratively with the second. See *Introd.* p. xxxii. So again *recessus ipse*, a local phrase, refers to the former, *sinus famae*, taken figuratively, to the latter. — The *ac*, *in consequence*, is epexegetic. See ch. 26, 11, and *Introd.* p. xxx.

24. sinus famae: refers not to mere remoteness, a signification which *sinus*, albeit a word of varied meanings, never has; nor would

mere distance be an obstacle to rumor for '*non aliud velocius*,' but the Britons remained virtually unknown, because their seclusion and isolation allowed only vague rumors of their existence to reach the outside world. Translate: *Our very seclusion and this retired nook which only rumor reaches.* Both of these facts are again emphasized, ch. 31, 20.

25. omne ignotum pro magnifico: with the sentiment, cp. ch. 25, 1. The present epigram and the one closing the chapter have acquired a special celebrity.

26. nulla iam ultra gens: this had been true before, but now it had become known to the Romans.

27. infestiores: *and the yet more terrible.*

28. per obsequium ac modestiam: *obedience and submission.* A frequent collocation, e.g. ch. 42, 25.

29. effugeris: potential subjunctive. **Raptores**, etc.: the same taunt — a rhetorical commonplace in barbarian speeches — is put in the mouth of Mithridates by Sall. *Hist. fragm.* IV. 19 (20), 22. Cp. also the address of the Scythians before Alexander, in Curt. VII. 8, 34, 19, *tu omnium gentium latro es.*

30. iam et: so invariably in Tacitus for *iam etiam.* See note ch. 15, 3. **mare scrutantur**: an intentional exaggeration, the sea serving the Romans, of course, only as a means to an end. — The same phrase occurs in *Germ.* 45, 11.

Page 20. **1. locuples . . . ambitiosi**: *if the enemy be rich, they exact tribute; if he be poor, they exact homage.*

2. satiaverit: clause of characteristic. With the thought, cp. Sall. *Hist. fragm.* IV. 17, *an ignoras Romanos postquam ad Occidentem pergentibus finem Oceanus fecit, arma huc* (sc. in Orientem) *convertisse.* **omnium**: best taken with *soli.* Cp. *Germ.* 45, 12; *Hist.* I. 48; Cic. *de orat.* III. 18, 65; Mart. IV. 2, 1.

3. auferre, trucidare, rapere: *robbery, massacre, plunder.* — Such asyndeta are common in Tacitus, e.g. ch. 37, 27; *Hist.* II. 12, *urere, vastare, rapere; Ann.* IV. 25, *trahi, occidi, capi.*

5. pacem adpellant: sc. *eam solitudinem factam.* Cp. also *Hist.* I. 37, *dum falsis nominibus . . . supplicia et contumelias vestras disciplinam adpellat.* — This euphemism was much affected by the Romans, being all but adopted as the official designation for conquest.

Chapter 31. **7. voluit** = *decrevit.* So often; with *natura* personified, e.g. Val. Max. VII. 1, 1; Quint. X. 3, 4. **alibi**: *somewhere or other*, not *elsewhere*, for Calgacus cannot have meant to exclude the British auxiliaries in Britain itself. See note on *aliquis* (ch. 38, 19). British cohorts are found e.g. in the armies of Caecina and Vitellius, at the second battle of Bedriacum, in Pannonia, and elsewhere, as we learn from Tacitus's *Histories* and inscriptions.

8. hostilem = *hostium.* Tacitus often substitutes this and other adjectives for the genitive. Subjective as here, e.g. *Ann.* XIII. 57, *minae hostiles; Hist.* III. 77, *clamore hostili.* Cp. also note *Dial.* 29, 21.

9. nomine amicorum atque hospitum: the thought is slightly obscured by overconciseness, the implication being that the victims were by the false professions of friendship and hospitality first thrown off their guard and then dishonored.

10. ager atque annus: *their yearly harvest; annus* alone in this sense occurs first in Cic. *Verr.* I. 1, 14, 40. In prose again *Germ.* 14, 1, but often in post-Augustan epic poetry, e.g. Lucan. III. 70; Stat. *Theb.* IX. 406. *Ager* is here added for the sake of balancing the five other groups of virtually synonymous expressions in this one sentence. **in frumentum**, etc.: with the sentiment, an oratorical commonplace, cp. ch. 19, 2 ff., and the speech of Boudicca in Dio Cass. LXII. 3.

11. emuniendis: *in the clearing.* **atque . . . ac . . . ac . . . ac**: such accumulations of *ac* are extremely rare in Latin. Cp. note *Dial.* 17, 28.

12. inter verbera ac contumelias: *contumelia* has here the concrete and restricted meaning of *cuffs in the face, alapae*, as distinguished from the generic term *verbera, blows.* Cp. *Hist.* III. 31, *praeberi os contumeliis;* 85, *erigere os et offerre contumeliis.* On the combination, see *Introd.* p. xxx. — *inter*, i.e. alternating between. So similarly, ch. 32, 19; *Hist.* I. 1, *inter infensos vel obnoxios.* **conteruntur**: used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, figuratively with *bona fortunaeque* and *ager atque annus*, in its usual sense with *corpora . . . manus.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. It is, therefore, not necessary to supply *consumuntur* by zeugma. **nata servituti**: so e.g. Cic. *de prov. cons.* 5, 10 for the regular *nasci ad.*

13. semel veneunt, etc.: cp. the words put into the mouth of Boudicca by Dio Cass. l.c., πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἅπαξ τισὶ πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας ὀνομάτων κατ' ἔτος λυτροῦσθαι, evidently

another rhetorical commonplace in speeches of this kind. **ultro**: *moreover, in the bargain.* So often.

14. Britannia: on the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. xxxi. **emit . . . pascit**: refer respectively to *tributum* and *frumentum* (l. 10). Calgacus says with bitter sarcasm that the Britons are daily paying for the privilege of being Roman slaves, instead of having their masters, if servitude it must be, care for them.

15. sicut in familia: somewhat inconsistently with true portraiture of character, the speaker is made to allude to purely Roman conditions, of which he could not have had any knowledge. But such inaccuracies are frequent in the speeches of ancient historians. In Tacitus, e.g. ch. 15, 32. 5; 30, 2; 32, 32; *Hist.* I. 30. Observe also that this simile makes Calgacus forget the statements made in ch. 30, 15. 22 ff. — *sicut . . . sic*, for *sicut* (*ut*) *. . . ita*, also *Hist.* I. 84. — On the brachylogical character of the simile, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

17. novi nos et viles: i.e. while we cannot expect to escape the usual treatment experienced by newly acquired slaves, we are, moreover, held so worthless a lot, that our masters will not stop short of extermination to get rid of us again.

19. exercendis = *to engage upon.* This clause gives the reasons for *viles.* We are not a paying investment to the Romans, says the speaker, for we have no arable land, no mines, no harbors, upon which we can be put to work. In this sense, with inanimate objects, *exercere* is poetic and post-Augustan, but comparatively rare. Cp. *Hist.* II. 82. **porro**: on the other hand what we do possess is equally obnoxious to the Romans, though on other grounds (*longinquitas*, etc.).

20. longinquitas . . . tutius: a restatement, in different form, of ch. 30, 23–25.

21. suspectius: *the more dangerous.* For this sense, cp. e.g. Liv. XXI. 7, 7. Their distance and seclusion made them more formidable, as the Romans had no means to determine the real strength and the purposes of the Britons and — *omne ignotum pro magnifico* (ch. 30, 25).

22. sumite animum: *muster up your courage.* In this sense first, and only once, in Livy, viz. VI. 23, 3.

23. Brigantes: Petilius won some moderate successes against them, see note ch. 17, 8. They are not mentioned elsewhere in connection with the uprising under Boudicca, but Calgacus is here made

to refer to them, because they were the most powerful and most numerous tribal confederacy in Britain (l.c.), and, as the nearest neighbors of the Caledonians, better known to the latter than Boudicca's followers.

24. coloniam: i.e. *Camulodunum*. Cp. ch. 16, 12. **In socordiam vertisset**: on *vertere* as a middle, see ch. 18, 20; *Dial.* 4, 14, *in consuetudinem vertisset.*

25. potuere: *posse*, and so similarly, *debere*, *oportet*, *opus est*, and the gerundive, are very often in the indicative in the 'contrary to fact' conditional clauses, for their inherent meaning is, strictly speaking, incompatible with irreality. **et . . . et**: on the force of the polysyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxvii.

26. in paenitentiam: i.e. with no expectation of having to regret our attempt to drive out the invader. **primo statim**: cp. note ch. 3, 13.

28. seposuerit: the fourth paeon (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –) in the *clausula* was objected to by Cicero. Cp. *Orat.* 63, 214; *de orat.* III. 47, 183. It is the only instance in the two speeches.

Chapter 32. **30. dissensionibus ac discordiis**: so combined, *Dial.* 40, 20, and similarly, *discordiae* and *seditiones*, e.g. *Hist.* I. 84. **nisi si** = *nisi forte*, in an ironical sense, is rare.

Page 21. **2. Germanos**: e.g. the Batavi and Tungri mentioned in ch. 36, 30. **plerosque**: *many*. Cp. note ch. 1, 10.

3. licet: in adversative clauses in Tacitus only here, *Dial.* 13, 29 and *Ann.* XIV. 55, both times also in a speech. **sanguinem commodent**: *shed their blood.*

4. diutius, etc.: with the sentiment, cp. Liv. XXV. 29, 7, *diutius ille multo amicus fuit quam hic hostis, servos* in our passage being put sarcastically for *amicos.*

4. fide et adfectu: *loyalty and attachment.*

5. Metus ac terror: *dread and awe.* The terms are synonymous, for not only is *terror*, with but few exceptions, never used in the singular in the sense of *inspiring* fear, but this meaning is excluded by the context, as *timere*, below, shows. They are combined to balance and contrast *fide et adfectu*, which also accounts for their position as predicate nominatives. **infirma vincla caritatis**: corresponding to and suggested by *adfectu teneri*, the entire clause constituting a kind of oxymoron.

7. pro nobis: *on our side.* The same *incitamenta* are enumerated in the same order by Civilis in *Hist.* V. 17, *capesserent pugnam, coniugum, parentum, patriae memores.* — With this meaning of *pro*, cp. *Hist.* IV. 78, *cuncta pro hostibus erant.* **Romanos**: notice the emphatic position.

9. nulla . . . patria aut alia: i.e. many are mere adventurers with no fixed habitation, or they are foreigners (see ch. 32, 32). Cp. Mithridates on the earliest inhabitants of Rome, *convenas olim sine patria, parentibus* (Sall. *Hist. fragm.* IV. 17).

10. Paucos . . . circumspectantes: as a rule, when the last member in an enumeration is amplified, it is either joined by *et* to a preceding asyndeton, or else the asyndeton is retained throughout, but rounded off by chiasmus. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* II. 48, *placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens*, where we also have a participle at the close as here.

12. vinctos: i.e. panic-stricken, because hampered by insurmountable obstacles. Cp. *Hist.* I. 79, *Sarmatae . . . velut vincti caedebantur; Ann.* I. 65, *en Varus eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones.* A similar statement is made about themselves in Agricola's speech, in ch. 34, 1 ff. **tradiderunt**: on the great effect which such rhythmical *clausulae* (_ ∪ _ ⏑) had upon a Roman audience, cp. Cic. *Orat.* 50, 168, *contiones saepe exclamare vidi cum apte verba cecidissent*, and esp. 63, 214, *me stante Carbo . . . dixit . . . "temeritas filii cōmprŏbāvĭt." hoc dichoreo (= ditrochaeo) tantus clamor contionis excitatus est, ut admirabile esset.*

13. auri fulgor atque argenti: added to define *adspectus* more closely. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. — With the *collocatio verborum*, cp. below, l. 20. The sentiment seems to have been a commonplace. Cp. esp. Liv. X. 39, 11 ff., *multa de praesenti hostium adparatu vana magis species quam efficaci ad eventum disseruit: non enim cristas vulnera facere et per . . . aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum . . . auream olim atque argenteam Samnitium aciem . . . occisam;* Just. XI. 13; Curt. III. 2, 5, 12. **quod** = *quae res*, for the antecedent cannot be *adspectus et fulgor*, which would require *qui*, nor *aurum atque argentum*, which would call for *quae.*

15. Adgnoscent . . . recordabuntur . . . deserent: note the emphatic position of the predicates, on which cp. *Introd.* p. xxvi.

16. deserent . . . reliquerunt: with the repetition of the verb, cp. ch. 37, 11, *caesa . . . cecidere.*

17. illos: sc. *Romanos.* **ceteri**: a kind of prolepsis, very

common in Tacitus. Cp. e.g. *Dial.* 8, 13 ff., *ceteros quidem amicos . . . Marcellum autem et Crispum; Hist.* III. 32; *Ann.* III. 49.

18. ultra: i.e. beyond the Roman army, when once defeated. **formidinis**: *cause of fear.* Cp. e.g. ch. 36, 12; 41, 13; Prop. III. (IV.) 13, 38; Lucan, VII. 72, modern languages being often more precise and analytic than the Latin. **vacua castella**: *abandoned forts.* Probably rhetorical plurals, like *coloniae* below, the statement being an intentional exaggeration.

19. inter, etc.: *What with reluctant obedience on the one hand, and unjust authority on the other, the towns are*, etc. Cp. note ch. 31, 12. **parentes . . . imperantes** = *obsequium . . . imperium.* On this usage see note ch. 4, 11.

20. aegra: *ill at ease.* An exceedingly common metaphor, both in Greek and Latin. In reference to towns, e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1015; Claud. *Bell. Get.* 437. — The two adjectives are used predicatively, on which usage see *Introd.* p. xxv. **municipia**: *Verulamium*, and, possibly, *Londinium*, though the plural may be merely rhetorical. On the position between the two attributes, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **Hic dux**: viz. Calgacus himself.

21. metalla: this contradicts ch. 31, 18, unless we suppose that foreign or British mines are here meant to be distinguished from Caledonian. **et ceterae**: this phrase, usually after a polysyndetic enumeration, is characteristic of Tacitean style.

22. in hoc campo: i.e. depends upon the battle to be fought on this field. The statement is common in speeches of this nature. Cp. *Ann.* II. 15, *aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium.*

24. maiores . . . cogitate: more emphatic than the more usual construction with *de.* Cp. Plin. *Epist.* II. 1, 12, *Verginium cogito.*

Chapter 33. The speech of Agricola (33, 30–34, 8) is pitted, point for point, against that of Calgacus. Here, as there, the situation is represented as critical; there is an appeal to the valor of the soldiers, the rewards of victory and the dire consequences of a defeat are dwelt upon in both. Finally a supreme confidence in the outcome, based upon former achievements, and a depreciation of the enemy, are expressed by both speakers. This perfect parallelism of structure would be alone sufficient to stamp both speeches as works of the imagination. The address of Agricola, however, unlike that of Calgacus, may have had some historical background (see note

ch. 29, 10), although its contents teem with rhetorical commonplaces, met with in similar productions of Thucydides (esp. books VI.–VII.), Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and Ammianus Marcellinus. Cp. also *Introd.* p. xv. f. — The most noteworthy rhetorical features are: *anaphora* (ch. 33, 2. 11; 34, 25. 26 f.); *asyndeton* (ch. 33, 1 ff. 6. 14; 35, 5); *antithesis* (ch. 33, 5. 13. 15 f. 17); *fullness of expression* (ch. 33, 2 f. 7. 9 f.; 34, 24. 3. 4); *libration* (ch. 33, 3 f. 6. 7. 13. 14. 21; 34, 26. 5 f.); *poetic and epigrammatic expressions* (ch. 33, 10 ff. 13. 15 f. 20 f. 22; 34, 29. 30 ff. 3. 5 f.); *ditrochaic clausula* (ch. 33, 2. 8. 9. 11. 21. 23; 34, 25. 26. 28. 31. 5. 8); *cretic clausula* (ch. 34, 8).

25. barbaris: cp. *Hist.* IV. 15, *magno cum adsensu auditus, barbaro ritu.* **moris**: so ch. 39, 5; 42, 23, and elsewhere in Tacitus. It seems to occur first in Cic. *Verr.* I. 26, 66. The more usual *mos est*, e.g. ch. 25, 1; 40, 12.

26. cantu fremituque et clamoribus: the same collocation (*que — et*), e.g. ch. 32, 10 f.; 33, 9 f., similar synonymic combinations being exceedingly common.

27. fulgores: sc. *adspiciebantur.* On the ellipsis of a verb of seeing, cp. *Ann.* I. 7, *ne laeti . . . tristiores* (sc. *adspicerentur*), and *Introd.* p. xxxi. — The plural of *fulgor* is very rare, and was probably due to *agmina.* Translate: *Marching columns, each with flashing arms, were seen.* **audentissimi**: the substantival use of *audens* is Vergilian, and not uncommon in later poetry, but in prose not before Tacitus, the superlative being apparently ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. **procursu**: the ablative of 'attendant circumstance' is particularly frequent in Tacitus. Cp. *Dial.* 39, 25, *concursu totius civitatis.*

28. simul . . . cum: *no sooner . . . than.* This correlation seems to be extremely rare, so e.g. Liv. XLIV. 43, 1. It is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, though *iam, iamque . . . cum* is one of his favorite combinations. **quamquam**: with adjective, as in ch. 1, 2, where see note.

29. coercitum: the perfect passive participle here takes the place of a missing adjective in *-bilis.* So often, e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 43, 5, *animum invictum.*

30. adhuc: *still further.* Cp. note ch. 29, 6. **septimus annus**, etc.: 77/8–84, after the Roman method, reckoned inclusively. This seems to have been a stereotyped exordium. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* I. 28; *Ann.* XIV. 53; Lucan, I. 299, and Liv. XXI. 40, 5. 43, 13, the speeches of Hannibal and Scipio furnishing coincidences throughout.

Page 22. **1. virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani**, etc.: with the phrase cp. Curt. VI. 3, 7, 2, *imperio auspicioque perdomui.* The *imperium Romanum* is here, as *res publica* elsewhere, even in Cicero, personified for the evident purpose of avoiding the name of the emperor, usual in these formulae, for otherwise the credit for the great victory would have been given directly to Domitian. That Agricola is made to identify himself with his army (*nostra*) is in perfect keeping with the modesty of his character. Cp. esp. ch. 18, 17 ff.; 39, 5.

3. fortitudine, etc. . . . **patientia**, etc.: refer chiastically to *expeditionibus* and *proeliis*, as do *me militum* and *vos ducis*, for the conspicuous behavior of the soldiers in battle had already been sufficiently emphasized by *fide atque opera nostra vicistis.*

4. rerum naturam: *the forces of nature.* Cp. ch. 22, 7.

7. non fama nec rumore: this is evidently intended to contrast with Calgacus's remark in ch. 31, 23, *terrarum . . . extremos . . . sinus famae . . . defendit*, Agricola asserting that they occupy *finem Britanniae* already, not by the mere wish being father to the thought, but by actual possession, and unlike Caesar, *qui potest videri ostendisse posteris* (sc. *Britanniam*) *non tradidisse* (ch. 13, 20). —*fama* (κλέος) and *rumor* (δόσα) are distinguished, in that the former is vague, intangible, not traceable to any human agent, while the latter implies some definite opinion or information which lacks authority or substantiation; it is the more specific term, *fama* the more general, both being often combined, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 20, 1; Liv. XX. 39, 18, and esp. Ovid, *Met.* XII. 43 ff.

8. castris et armis: the two terms balance *fama nec rumore*, and correspond to *expeditionibus* and *proeliis* respectively. **Britannia**: on the position of the subject between the two predicates, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

10. flumina, etc.: observe the alliteration.

12. veniunt: *well, they are coming on.* On the emphatic position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **e latebris extrusi**: so Curt. IV. 14, 52, 4. **vota virtusque in aperto**: *your vows and your valor have full scope.* The Latin is fond of such alliterative collocations. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii. The thought often occurs in speeches of this character, e.g. Liv. XXXIV. 13, 5: Lucan, VII. 251 ff.; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 50.

13. omniaque prona victoribus . . . victis adversa: observe the alliterative antithesis, on which see *Introd.* p. xxvii. — With the

maxim, cp. Caes. *B. G.* II. 28, 2, *victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum;* Sall. *Cat.* 58, 9.

14. et = *etiam.* **superasse tantum itineris**: the phrase seems to occur only here. — Note the double chiasmus. So e.g. *Ann.* III. 4, *miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus;* IV. 62; Lucret. V. 816; Quint. X. 1, 99; Plin. *Epist.* VI. 20, 14. The antithetical clauses are also in chiastic order. With the entire passage, cf. Liv. XXI. 43, 9, *tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque . . . emensos*, and esp. Curt. VI. 3, 9, 16, and on the rhetorical commonplaces characteristic of military speeches, see *Introd.* p. xxxvi.

15. in frontem = *progredientibus*, which was avoided for euphonic reasons, *fugientibus* following. The phrase is unparalleled, but *in* often has the meaning *towards*, and the term was probably coined on the analogy of *terga praebere*, which signifies flight in battle, even without the addition of *hostibus*. — On the ellipsis of *sed*, extremely common in antitheses of this kind, see *Introd.* p. xxxi.

17. neque enim, etc.: the speaker here admits what Calgacus had asserted, ch. 32, 10 ff.

18. manus et arma: see ch. 25, 32, and *Introd.* p. xxx.

19. Quod ad me attinet: so again in *Dial.* 25, 11, *quantum ad* taking its place elsewhere in Tacitus.

20. decretum est: *I have held*, a very rare, possibly colloquial, meaning. Cp. e.g. Cic. *ad fam.* II. 6, 3, *in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi; ad Att.* III. 15, 7. **terga tuta esse**: a commonplace. Cp. Sall. *Cat.* 58, 16; Liv. XXVII. 13, 7.

21. Proinde = *itaque.* **et honesta mors, turpi vita potior, et**: this sentiment is also a commonplace, e.g. Eur. *Peleus, fragm.* 448 N.; Sen. *de tranq.* 11, 4, and Béowulf, 2890.

22. eodem loco sita sunt: i.e. a noble death for one's country or a glorious victory depends upon the issue of this battle. — This alternative is a rhetorical *τόπος* in many of these speeches. Cp. Liv. XXI. 43, 4, and esp. Dio Cass. LXII. 11, *ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν, καλὸν τὸ μνημεῖον τὴν Βρεταννίαν ἔξομεν.*

23. fuerit: best taken as future perfect. **in ipso . . . fine**: observe the skill with which Tacitus establishes the transition to the next chapter, the present phrase naturally suggesting *novae* gentes and *ignota* acies. Cp. note ch. 23, 31. **terrarum ac naturae fine**: *on the very confines of land, nay, of the world itself.* The second term emphasizes *terrarum*, the *ac* being epexegetic. Cp. ch. 26, 11.

Chapter 34. **24. constitisset**: the predicate agrees with *acies*, the nearer subject, which is added to *gentes* to signify that they were on a war footing, *consisto* being also a military term. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. With the thought, cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 5.

26. decora, etc.: i.e. *victories won against them.* Cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 5. 41, 6; XXVII. 13; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 50.

27. furto noctis: refers to ch. 26, 10 ff. The same phrase, *under the secret cover of night*, occurs in Curt. IV. 13, 47, 9.

28. clamore: cp. ch. 26, 15 ff. **ceterorum fugacissimi**: two ideas here coalesce into one, viz. *ceteris Britannorum fugaciores* and *omnium B. fugacissimi.* The confusion is a Graecism, but not uncommon in Latin; e.g. Thucyd. I. 1; Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 10, 22, 103, and similarly Tac. *Hist.* I. 50. Cp. also Milton's phrase, *fairest of her daughters, Eve.*

29. Quo modo, etc.: this simile, found also Curt. III. 8, 19, 10, seems to be based on Hom. *Iliad*, XXI. 573 ff. — *quo modo* (for the regular *quem ad modum*) . . . *sic*, is a frequent correlation in Tacitus. **silvas saltusque**: this alliterative collocation is poetic and common in Vergil, but very rare in prose. In Tacitus again, *Ann.* II. 14.

30. penetrantibus: sc. *nobis*, for, as *agmen* and the imperfect *pellebantur* seem to indicate, the illustration is supposed to represent recent experiences, here recalled to exemplify the alleged situation of the enemy. With the elliptical dative (rather than abl.) absolute, cp. ch. 10, 13; 11, 10; 18, 20.

31. ruēre: the aoristic perfect is common, and with but few exceptions always found with the shorter form. — On the plural after *quisque*, see note ch. 3, 24 and *Ann.* XIV. 18.

Page 23. **1. numerus**: *a worthless lot.* For the meaning, see Hor. *Epist.* I. 2, 27, *nos numerus sumus*, and for the thought cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 10, *reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis;* Curt. VI. 3, 9, 17. **quod**, etc.: *as for the fact that.* The brachylogical use of *quod* is first found in Lucret. III. 41. In Tacitus, e.g. *Dial.* 25, 3; *Germ.* 43, 14; *Hist.* II. 38. — With the sentiment, cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 6, *nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt*, and Curt. IV. 14, 52, 2.

3. novissimae res: *extreme plight.* So often, e.g. *Hist.* II. 48. **defixere**: *riveted to.* **in his vestigiis** = *in hoc campo* (ch. 32, 22).

5. ederetis: *you are to exhibit*, a final subjunctive, as in ch. 42, 5 and *Germ.* 29, 5. *edere victoriam* is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, coined

on the analogy of *edere spectaculum.* **transigite cum**: *have done with.* In this sense Liv. IX. 12, 11, *transigere cum Publilio certamen.* **imponite**, etc.: *crown the campaigns of fifty years with one glorious day.* — *magnus dies*, like our 'red-letter day.' The actual period was only forty-two years (43–84 A.D.). — With the emphatic position of the predicates, cp. ch. 32, 15 ff. and *Introd.* p. xxvi.

7. moras belli: cp. ch. 19, 2 ff.

8. causas rebellandi: ch. 15, 20 ff.; 20, 19 ff.

Chapter 35. 9. militum ardor eminebat: *the enthusiasm of the soldiers rose to a high pitch.* The effect of a general's speech is often described in similar terms, e.g. *Ann.* II. 15; XIV. 36; Curt. VI. 4, 10, 1; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 13.

11. statimque ad arma discursum: *there was a sudden rush to arms.* The same phrase is found in Hom. *Odyss.* XXIV. 486. **Instinctos**: *in high feather.*

13. mediam aciem firmarent = *m. a. firme componerent, form a powerful center.* Cp. ch. 14, 13, and esp. Liv. XXII. 46, 3. **cornibus adfunderentur**: *flanked the ends.* In this military sense the verb seems to occur only here.

The entire force available in this battle can be approximately calculated at about 28,000 men, though the legions were not called into action, the auxiliaries deciding the conflict. The topography and description of the battle, excepting a certain historical background, are largely imaginary, and would suit any hilly country or any conflict of Romans and barbarians. On this feature, cp. *Introd.* p. xvi. — In the present instance, six phases may be distinguished, though the details and their correlation are somewhat vague and unsatisfactory. 1. *Fight at a distance, indecisive* (ch. 36, 26–29); 2. *Hand-to-hand fight, advance of auxiliaries* (36, 29–7); 3. *Flight of the chariot fighters and confusion wrought by the horses* (36, 10–17); 4. *Britons assume the offensive, but retreat before the Roman cavalry reserves* (37, 18–24); 5. *Britons surrounded and put to flight* (37, 25–32); 6. *Final unsuccessful rally — pursuit of the vanquished* (37, 1–11). The stylistic and rhetorical colors for the picture Tacitus has freely appropriated from his predecessors, notably Sallust.

14. pro: *in front of.* Cp. note ch. 12, 21, *propugnant.* **victoriae**: equivalent to *si vincerent* and contrasted with *si pellerentur.* Cp. ch. 33, 13.

15. decus, etc.: to gain a victorious battle without shedding the

blood of Roman legionaries enhanced the glory, while in the emergency of a repulse of the non-Roman auxiliaries they, with strength unimpaired, were in position to turn disaster into success. *Ann.* XII. 17; XIV. 23. **citra** = *sine*. See note ch. 1, 12. **bellandi**: the genitive depends on *decus*, and signifies, as often, that in which a thing consists. I.e. *it is a glorious thing in warfare to triumph without*, etc.

16. pellerentur: sc. *auxilia*, which, though easily supplied from the context, would probably have been expressed had not *auxilium* preceded. **in speciem simul ac terrorem**: observe that what Calgacus had warned against and ridiculed, *ne terreat vanus adspectus et . . . fulgor* (ch. 32, 13), is here asserted to have been resorted to by the Caledonians themselves. — *terror* is the result of *species*, and *simul* is used to indicate their belief that cause and effect would be virtually coincident. Cp. *Germ.* 38, 9, *in altitudinem quandam et terrorem.*

18. in aequo: sc. *consisteret*, to be supplied from the preceding *constiterat.* **conexi**: *in close array.* **velut insurgerent**: i.e. seemed actually to rise terrace-like one above the other. It was this that constituted the imposing appearance just mentioned. Tacitus and post-Augustan writers generally do not often apologize for metaphors, but here *velut* was necessary, for otherwise the predicate would have belonged to *in aequo* as well.

19. media campi: the plain stretching from the foot of the *adclive iugum* to the rear of the *primum agmen.* **covinnarius eques**: warriors fighting from chariots, called *covinnarii* in ch. 36, 11 and *essedarii* by Caesar. It was a mode of fighting peculiar to the Celts and to the Britons in particular. See notes ch. 12, 20. 21.

21. simul: on its medial position, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

22. diductis ordinibus: *widening the ranks.* Elsewhere Tacitus uses *laxare* in this sense, its opposite being *densus* or *firmus.* **porrectior**: *drawn out too long.* Cp. Sall. *Iug.* 49, 1; Liv. XXV. 21, 6; XXXI. 21, 14.

23. futura erat: *might prove to be*, a frequent meaning of the future participle. For *quamquam* with the indicative, very unusual in Tacitus, see ch. 36, 11.

24. promptior in spem: *rather sanguine.* — *promptus* with *in* or *ad* is a favorite expression of Tacitus, occurring fourteen times. **firmus adversis**: *steadfast in the face of adversity.* Elsewhere Tacitus uses the preposition *adversus* with *firmus*, but this was here

excluded by *adversis*. The change between an ablative or dative and a prepositional clause is, however, characteristic of the author. See *Introd.* p. xxxiv. — The dative with *firmus*, used personally, is extremely rare. So e.g. Vell. Pat. II. 63, 3, *Pollio firmus proposito;* of things, it occurs in Liv. II. 5, 4.

25. vexilla: the standards of the auxiliaries as distinguished from the *signa* of the legions.

Chapter 36. 27. constantia . . . arte: *persistently and skillfully.* Ablatives of manner, the former referring particularly to *caetris . . . excutere*, the latter to *gladiis . . . vitare*, in chiastic order.

30. Batavorum: this famous German tribe dwelt on the island of the lower Rhine, the modern Holland. We know of eight auxiliary cohorts serving in Britain, but whether the three (the number is due to conjecture) here mentioned were all that remained at this time is uncertain but probable. See *Germ.* 29. **Tungrorum**: another German tribe, settled in what corresponds to the modern Belgium.

Page 24. 1. mucrones ac manus: equivalent to the more common *cominus*, as opposed to *eminus* above. **quod** = *quod genus pugnandi.*

2. et . . . et = *cum . . . tum, on the one hand . . . on the other.* So very often. **quod . . . exercitatum**: i.e. this mode of fighting had become familiar to Agricola's soldiers by practice, owing to their long military service. **inhabile**: *awkward, embarrassing.* In this sense frequent in Tacitus.

4. sine mucrone: *pointless.* *Sine* with a noun is the usual substitute in Latin for a missing negative adjective. **complexum armorum**: *hand-to-hand fight.* The phrase seems to occur only here, but cp. Pseudo Quint. *Decl.* 4, 22, *in Martis complexu cadere.*

5. tolerabant: a bold personification. So *Ann.* II. 2 and often in Pliny the Elder. — On a similar statement about the Germans in battle, cp. *Ann.* II. 21. **miscere ictus**: *dealt out blow upon blow.* Another of the many idiomatic uses of this verb. Cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 1039, *μεμίξεται . . . πλαγά.*

6. ora fodere: a common phrase, e.g. *Ann.* II. 21; Liv. VIII. 10, 6. With the entire passage, cf. Polyb. II. 33.

8. proximos quosque for the singular (in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XIV. 31, *praecipui quique*) is extremely rare, Cicero, e.g.

having but one instance, *Lael.* 10, 34. It was used in the present passage to indicate that the enemy approached in groups, not singly, one after another.

9. semineces for *semivivos* is a Vergilian word, frequent in post-Augustan poetry, but very rare in prose; e.g. Liv. XXIII. 15, 8 and Tac. *Hist.* III. 28. In Greek, on the other hand, the very opposite usage obtains, ἡμιθνής being quite common, whereas ἡμίζωος is not found at all, except in very late writers.

10. equitum = *equorum*, sc. Britanorum. Here equivalent to *equi sine rectoribus* (see below). This confusion is met with as early as Ennius, 237 V. *quadrupes eques*, and was imitated by Verg. *Georg.* III. 116 and others. See the interesting discussion in Gell. *Noct. Att.* XVIII. 5. With the acceptance of this interpretation, which is especially probable in view of the very extensive indebtedness of Tacitus to Vergil, all the difficulties, to which this paragraph has given rise, disappear. **turmae**: *crowds*, as often of animals. The horses with the driverless chariots (*ut fugere covinarii*) rushed into the midst of the battle. The hitherto universally accepted explanation, which understands *turmae* of the Roman cavalry, is incompatible with the meaning of *miscuere*, for, when used in a military sense, it never signifies the strategic juncture of several parts of one and the same army, but either the engagement of two opposing forces or else an unexpected confusion of the ranks, caused by the sudden intrusion of some disturbing element. The subject of the *three* indicatives (*intulerant*, *haerebant*, and *incursabant*) is thus the same, viz., the *equi cum curribus et sine rectoribus;* while the subject of the *one* subjunctive (*impellerentur*) is the Roman cavalry.

12. recentem terrorem: *a fresh source of panic*, in addition to that inspired by the victorious infantry. — The same phrase occurs repeatedly. Cp. also note ch. 32, 18. **densis . . . haerebant**: although the reinless horses rushed madly against their own side, they nevertheless were hampered in their movements by the compact mass of the Britons as well as by the hilly surface. The result of this is expressed in the last clause, *ac . . . incursabant.*

14. aequa, etc.: although the corrupted text cannot be restored with certainty, the meaning seems to have been that the Roman cavalry, following up the successes of the infantry, were equally impeded in their movement by the inequality of the land, so that the conflict only partially resembled the equestrian conflicts of the plain. The impossibility, moreover, of controlling their own horses and

securing a firm foothold rendered their condition precarious. — On the metaphor, *pugnae facies*, see note ch. 38, 22.

16. exterriti sine rectoribus equi: a reminiscence of Sall. *Hist. fragm.* I. 96 D., containing the identical phrase.

17. transversos aut obvios: the horses for the reasons given (l. 13) either turned athwart, or ran straight ahead, in wild panic and confusion.

Chapter 37. **20. vincentium**: significantly used for *victorum*, for the action of the Britons showed that they at least did not as yet admit that the Romans had won a victory, but at best only temporary successes so far. **circumire . . . coeperant**: i.e. *et circumissent ni*. On this brachylogy, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

21. quattuor . . . alas: these four squadrons of cavalry had also been *pugnae expertes*. They are especially mentioned here, because they were probably not a part of those referred to as forming the *acies* (ch. 35, 13). **ad subita belli**: *for a sudden emergency*. The substantival use of neuter plural adjectives is perhaps more frequent in Tacitus than in any previous writer save Seneca. — The phrase itself is a *vox Liviana*. Cp. also *Hist.* V. 16, *dux sibi delectos retinuerat ad improvisa*.

25. transvectaeque: the *cause* is here added paratactically to the *effect*, in place of a clause with *cum*. Cp. *Germ.* 22, 9.

27. spectaculum: sc. *adspiciebatur*. On this ellipsis, see below, l. 31, and *Introd.* p. xxxi.

28. atque: on the collocation, the last member being amplified and therefore joined by a conjunction to a preceding asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. — The entire passage is clearly modeled upon Sall. *Iug.* 101, 11, *tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi . . . omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus et inter ea humus infecta sanguine*.

29. hostium, though belonging to *armatorum*, which by its independent position is the more effectively contrasted with *inermes*, is here placed at the beginning, because it depends upon both *catervae* and *quidam*, which are in turn in antithesis.

30. terga praestare: a new expression coined to avoid the stereotyped phrase, *terga dare, praebere*. On this peculiarly Tacitean aversion for hackneyed phrases, see *Introd.* pp. xxv. xxxv.

31. arma . . . humus: observe the effect of the polysyndeton, bringing each single element into prominence. See *Introd.* p. xxvii.

aliquando . . . virtusque: sc. *redit*, as shown by Tacitus's model, Verg. *Aen.* II. 367, *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus.* Cp. also Sen. *Troad.* 671 f., *inermes offeram manus Dabit ira vires*, with the same antithesis as in ll. 29 f.

Page 25. **1. adpropinquaverunt**: sc. *Britanni*, easily supplied from the preceding *victis*, and made necessary by the context. **identidem**: to be taken with *conlecti*, i.e. on approaching the forests, the Britons repeatedly rallied.

2. primos sequentium incautos: i.e. those Roman soldiers who *festinatione victoriae* incautiously followed the fleeing enemy in advance of the pursuing cohorts, the Britons, etc. — The irregular word-order was caused by a desire for succinct and rhythmical expression. — On the use of the adjective (*incautos*) for the adverb, see note ch. 5, 2. The entire passage closely resembles Liv. XXII. 31, 4.

3. frequens ubique: *who was everywhere conspicuously active.* — The phrase is pleonastic, for the sake of emphasis. Cp. note ch. 22, 16.

4. indaginis modo: *after the manner of a cordon.* The figure is taken from hunting, the wild beasts being driven into one spot and surrounded by nets. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 121. The simile is very frequently applied to the enclosing of enemies, e.g. Liv. VII. 37, 14.

6. persultare: *to scour, roam over.* Here, as also elsewhere in Tacitus, the verb is used in a more general sense, and therefore applicable to infantry as well. **acceptum aliquod . . . fiduciam foret**: the participle is unusually far removed from its auxiliary, probably here for the purpose of securing alliterative groups. Cp. also Lucret. I. 76; Tac. *Ann.* XII. 16, *coepta . . . foret.*

7. vulnus: *damage.* This figurative sense of *vulnus*, especially frequent with *accipere*, is a euphemism for *clades.* In Tac. again, *Ann.* II. 21.

8. compositos . . . ordinibus: i.e. when it was seen that the Romans had recovered from the confusion into which they had been thrown, and were again pursuing in battle array, etc.

9. versi = *se verterunt.* See note ch. 18, 20. **alius alium respectantes** = *in vicem r.* The phrase, also with the plural verb, is found in Sall. *Hist. fragm.* (Speech of Lepidus) I. 41, 20 D, *alius alium principem expectantes*, and the construction is quite common in Livy. In Tacitus only here, and used to avoid the repetition of *invicem* or *inter se.*

10. rari: on the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. xxxi.

11. finis . . . satietas fuit: *night and repletion put an end to the pursuit.* — On the singular predicate, cp. note ch. 4, 21. **caesa hostium . . . cecidere**: ancient historians generally shrink from giving an exact number of the fallen in battle, even when such was ascertainable. They prefer a round number instead, usually more or less exaggerated, or else they refrain from mentioning any. Cp. Plin. *Epist.* IX. 16, 1, *cum historicorum more scribas numerum iniri non potuisse.* That this was the practice of Tacitus is expressly attested by a now lost passage of his *Histories*, cited by Orosius, VII. 10, 4, *nisi C. Tacitus . . . de reticendo interfectorum numero et Sallustium et alios auctores . . . sanxisse et se ipsum idem potissimum elegisse dixisset.* In his extant works there are only *four* other exceptions, viz. *Germ.* 33, 11 (over 60,000 Germans slain); *Hist.* II. 17 (1100 Romans); *Ann.* IV. 73 (1300 Romans); XIV. 37 (80,000 Britons, 400 Romans). — The *ad decem milia* is, of course, a mere guess. Cp. Herodian. III. 7, 6, πλῆθος τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀνῃρημένων . . . ὡς ἕκαστος ἠβουλήθη τῶν τότε συγγραψάντων ἱστόρησεν. The Roman loss of 360 is perhaps authentic, the information being probably due to Agricola himself. — On the repetition of the verb, see note ch. 32, 16.

13. in quis: this archaic form occurs only here in the minor works, though very common in the later writings. — Tacitus had spoken (ch. 35, 15) of the glory of winning a victory without loss of Roman blood. The fate of this prefect is incidentally noted as the only apparent exception, for even his death was due to a mere accident. A modern writer would probably have mentioned this in a footnote.

Chapter 38. 15. nox . . . victoribus: i.e. the night was passed joyfully by the victors, owing to the soldiers' delight in their success and the resultant booty. **et . . . quidem . . . Britanni**: the ellipsis of *sed*, extremely common in Tacitus, is especially so after *et . . . quidem.*

16. palantes, *separating*, equivalent to *rari*, above, or *disiectos* (ch. 20, 15), is a favorite term in Tacitus, and used of soldiers breaking their ranks.

17. trahere, etc.: observe the accumulation of ten historical infinitives, and cp. note ch. 5, 28.

18. per iram: *in their wrath*, equivalent, as very often in T., to a modal ablative. **ultro**: *actually going so far as to.*

19. consilia aliqua: *devising some plan or other; aliqua* is used to emphasize the ill-matured character of these plans. **separare** = *separatim capere consilia*, the usual method of barbarians, see note ch. 12, 24. — The two verbs are similarly combined in Quint. IV. 2, 101, *miscenda sit an separanda narratio.*

20. pignorum: *their dear ones.* A poetic word for children, found repeatedly in Tacitus.

21. satisque constabat: a favorite phrase in Tacitus. The imperfect, for the present, takes the reader back to the report itself as given at the time by eye-witnesses of this scene, and thus prevents *tamquam* from being regarded as the subjective inference of the author, a usage not found in Tacitus. See note ch. 15, 19. — The Britons preferred to kill their wives and children rather than to see them led off into captivity with all the indignities which that involved. Cp. ch. 15, 24 ff. and *Germ.* 8, 17.

22. dies faciem . . . aperuit: personifications of time and figurative uses of *facies* are common in Latin writers, but this particular metaphor seems to be a new coinage, and is found only here. For analogous phrases, cp. e.g. ch. 22, 5; 36, 14; *Hist.* IV. 29, *novam aciem dies aperuit;* 62, *detexit ignominiam campus et dies.*

23. vastum . . . silentium: so Liv. X. 34, 6 and Tac. *Hist.* III. 13; *Ann.* III. 4; IV. 50. **secreti colles**: *lonely, quiet,* as being no longer occupied as before, — a picturesque touch. For this meaning of *secreti*, cp. *Germ.* 40, 4, *secreto lacu* (i.e. removed from human habitations), *Ann.* XI. 21; *Hist.* III. 13. — Observe the fine cumulative effect of the asyndeton, giving the idea of weird desolation as far as the eye could reach. See *Introd.* p. xxvii.

25. incerta fugae vestigia: probably a reminiscence of Lucan, VIII. 4, where the identical expression occurs.

26. et = *et praeterea.* Cp. note ch. 10, 19.

27. spargi bellum: the poetical phrase occurs again, *Ann.* III. 21, and is taken from Lucan, I. 468; II. 682; III. 64, who in turn may have been influenced by Vergil's *spargere arma* in *Aen.* VII. 551.

28. Borestorum: probably a Caledonian tribe southeast of the battle scene. They are mentioned only here.

29. circumvehi Britanniam: the expedition already referred to in ch. 10, 17 ff., where see notes. As we learn from this and the earlier passage, the fleet had been instructed to go only far enough to the north to catch a glimpse of Thule, and was then to sail directly south along the western coast. This plan was, however, thwarted by

the advanced season of the year (ch. 10, 19, *et hiems adpetebat*); so they returned to the point whence they started, meeting again with favorable weather on the homeward journey. The insularity of Britain had already been proved by the Usipi in the previous year (82 A.D.). See ch. 28. **praecipit**: in Tacitus and in post-Augustan writers generally, verbs of command, persuasion, and the like, are often construed with the infinitive in place of *ut*.

31. lento itinere: *by leisurely marches.*

32. in hibernis: the exact location cannot be determined. If *simul*, etc., is to be taken strictly, these winter quarters must have been at some distance from the eastern shore, even allowing for the *lento itinere*. It is, therefore, probable that they ought to be located south of the Clyde, near the western coast, and on British, not Caledonian, territory.

Page 26. **1. secunda tempestate ac fama**: *with favorable weather and great renown.* On the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction of *secunda*, see *Introd.* p. xxxii. **Trucculensem portum**: probably, as the context seems to imply, on the east coast, near the Firth of Forth. The harbor is not elsewhere mentioned.

2. tenuit: *cast anchor, reached port.* A nautical phrase frequent in Livy and elsewhere. **unde**: i.e. *quo profecta, eo . . . redierat.* The nearest coast of Britain had been passed in its entire length. **proximo**: i.e. to the Romans on the continent, hence eastern. The distance between them was underestimated, and the relative positions misconceived. **litore lecto** is a Vergilian phrase, adopted by Livy and later writers. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 292; Liv. XXI. 57, 7.

Chapter 39. **5. epistulis**: *in his official report.* This curious plural, formed on the analogy of *litterae*, a letter, seems to occur first in Velleius, and is quite common later. Tacitus has twenty-eight instances, but, excepting this passage, they are confined to the *Histories* and the first three books of the *Annals;* thereafter, *litterae* is restored to favor. — With Agricola's modest behavior, cp. ch. 18, 18. **Domitiano moris erat** = *Domitianus, ut ei moris erat.* For a similar attraction into the subordinate clause, cp. note ch. 15, 20 and *Introd.* p. xxx.

6. fronte laetus, pectore anxius: with the antithesis, cp. Cic. *ad Att.* V. 10, 3, *haec ipsa fero . . . fronte et vultu bellissime, sed angor intimis sensibus;* Tac. *Hist.* II. 65, *laetitiam . . . vultu ferens,*

animo anxius.—On the adjective for the adverb, cp. ch. 5, 2. **excepit**: the fact that Tacitus is able to report Domitian's behavior, and the use of *excepit* for *accepit*, seem to imply, on the one hand, the presence of witnesses; on the other, that the letter was read to the emperor. **Inerat conscientia**: the same phrase occurs *Hist.* III. 86.

7. derisui: *an object of mockery.* A rare post-Augustan word, e.g. Sen. *Contr.* IV. *prooem.* 10. See note ch. 32, 18. **nuper falsum . . . triumphum**: the campaign against the Chatti, in 83 A.D., again sneeringly alluded to in *Germ.* 37, 24, *triumphati magis quam victi sunt.* Although Domitian did not win any military laurels himself, the war, carried on under his auspices, resulted in a permanent extension of the Roman *limes* or frontier, as Tac. *Germ.* 29, 19, though he purposely conceals Domitian's name, admits.

8. emptis, etc.: a similar story is told of *Caligula* by Suet. *Cal.* 47, who relates that the emperor made his pseudo-barbarians *non tantum rutilare et submittere comam sed et sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre.* It is to this first sham triumph that Tacitus seems to allude in *Germ.* 37, 20, *mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minas in ludibrium versae* (= *derisui fuisse*).

11. celebrari: depends upon *inerat conscientia.* An accusative with infinitive governed by a noun, and often, as here, followed by indirect discourse, is quite common; e.g. ch. 9, 24; 40, 24; 43, 4; *Hist.* V. 20; *Ann.* I. 5.—On the conciseness of expression, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **Id sibi . . . formidulosum**: sc. *esse videbatur*, to be supplied by zeugma out of *inerat conscientia*, the presence of *sibi* preventing the latter from being retained as the governing clause. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. **privati hominis**: *subject.* This, not *civilian*, as contrasted with *magistratus*, is the regular meaning of *privatus* in post-Augustan writers. With the statement itself, cp. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20, ὅτε καὶ μείζονα ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας (sc. Ἀγρικόλας).

12. studia fori et civilium artium decus: *the pursuit of forensic oratory and the statesman's renown.* Observe the chiasmus.—On the blighting effect of Domitian's despotism, see ch. 2; Plin. *Epist.* VIII. 14, 2; *Paneg.* 66. 76.

14. cetera: *all other eminent accomplishments.* **utcumque**: *somehow or other, in a measure.* So often, especially in Livy and Tacitus. **dissimulari**: *be ignored, overlooked*, a not uncommon meaning of the word in Tacitus.

15. ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem: i.e. military genius

was a peculiarly imperial characteristic, to which a mere subject ought never to lay claim, for its possession involved an eminence too exalted to be overlooked, besides suggesting odious comparisons with an emperor so lacking in this very quality as Domitian. — On the predicative position of the attributive, see *Introd.* p. xxv.

16. exercitus: *wrought up by such reflections.* **quodque . . . erat**: in apposition with the following clause.

17. secreto suo satiatus: i.e. having fully indulged in his characteristic secret broodings over this matter. — Note the alliteration. — With the statement itself, cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 48, *inmanissima bellua* (sc. *Domitianus*) *velut quodam specu inclusa . . . tenebras semper secretumque captantem.* **in praesentia**: possibly the ablative of the substantive, not the neuter plural participle, with *tempora* understood. Neither form occurs elsewhere in Tacitus, he using *in praesens* instead, though *e praesentibus* is also frequently found. As an ablative singular in an adverbial sense, the phrase is extremely rare. Cp. e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 52, 15; 72, 1; both times with *differre.* **reponere odium**: the same trait is attributed by Tacitus to Tiberius and Nero. Cp. *Ann.* I. 69; XVI. 5.

18. impetus famae, etc.: i.e. until the enthusiasm in Rome, over his achievements and his popularity among the soldiers in Britain, had had time to cool down. — On the singular predicate, cp. note ch. 4, 21.

19. nam, etc.: for if summoned to Rome while his victories were still fresh and there was an army at his back, Agricola might easily have deposed the tyrant. — The phrase *etiam tum* skillfully establishes the transition to the next chapter, dealing with the events immediately following the recall, which latter, because implied in the context, is not expressly mentioned. The motives for Domitian's conduct here given must not be accepted without some allowance. Agricola had been governor of Britain for a longer period than any of his predecessors. His campaigns were very expensive and yielded no commensurate results. Domitian had not the interest in Britain that Vespasian and Titus had; finally the Dacian revolt was upon him, so that the emperor may well have been justified in checking Agricola's lust of conquest.

Chapter 40. 21. triumphalia ornamenta: e.g. the *toga picta*, *tunica palmata*, the laurel crown, the right to the title *triumphalis.* They were granted in lieu of a triumph, which could be celebrated only by the emperor or one of the imperial family. Agrippa was the

last subject for whom this ancient honor was decreed, but he declined it twice, in 19 and 14 B.C. After the time of Hadrian, its empty substitute was also done away with. **inlustris statuae**: the *statua triumphalis*, or *laureata*, as it is variously called, was since the time of Augustus placed in the Forum.

22. quidquid: we should expect *quidquid aliud*, as in *Dial.* 5, 1; 19, 1. **multo verborum honore**: the repetition of *honore* is possibly designed to convey the impression of the emptiness and meaningless character of these alleged marks of distinction.

23. addique: Domitian also suggested that the senate should spread the information that, as an additional mark of imperial favor, Agricola's appointment as governor of Syria was soon to follow. — *opinionem* shows that this intimation was not given in the decree itself, for only an official and actual announcement could have properly found a place there.

25. tum: 84 A.D. **Atilii Rufi**: probably identical with the *P. Atilius Rufus* mentioned in a military diploma of the year 80 A.D. as the commander of a number of cohorts and cavalry squadrons in Pannonia. **maioribus**: perhaps best taken in its regular sense of *older men*, for the meaning *more distinguished*, generally given to the word here, is not found elsewhere, although *minores* is repeatedly used for *inferiores*. But in either case, the term subserves the purpose of showing that the appointment was in the nature of a promotion, for Syria, as well as Britain, was a Caesarian province, both being governed by *consulares* with the same title of *legatus propraetore*.

26. Credidere plerique: with the initial position of the verb, especially common in this and similar phrases, see ch. 9, 6 and *Introd.* p. xxvi. **secretioribus ministeriis**: *privy council.* Freedmen often occupied the highest offices and the most confidential positions in the imperial household, and under bad emperors constituted not infrequently the real power behind the throne. — *Ministeriis* = *ministris*, the abstract for the concrete.

27. codicillos: *letters patent.*

28. dabatur: a kind of epistolary imperfect, regarded from the point of view of the recipient. — The new appointment was to be made known to Agricola only to insure a speedy acquiescence in the recall which had been sent to him previously, Domitian fearing that Agricola might not comply with it, but the general's loyal conduct, evinced by his immediate departure, rendered this stratagem unnecessary.

29. libertum: repeated for the sake of emphasis, according to Tacitean usage.

Page 27. **1. sive verum istud**, etc.: such phrases, qualifying a direct charge or innuendo, are specially characteristic of Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 12, 19. **ex**: *in keeping with, in accordance with.* A modal use of the preposition exceedingly frequent in Tacitus.

2. Tradiderat: *as a matter of fact, he had handed over.* On the emphatic position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

3. successori: probably *Sallustius Lucullus*, executed by Domitian for naming a new kind of spear after himself.

4. notabilis esset: *attract attention; notabilis* is not found till the Augustan period, but is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus. **celebritate et frequentia occurrentium**: *by the constant stream of people coming to meet him.* — By way of contrast, cp. the conduct of Piso in *Ann.* III. 9, *auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum adpulerat dieque et ripa frequenti magno clientium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina et vultu alacres incessere* (sc. Romam).

5. noctu . . . noctu: observe the effective anaphora.

6. ut praeceptum: probably to be taken only with the immediately preceding clause.

7. brevi osculo: *a perfunctory kiss.* Cp. *Ann.* XIII. 18. This mode of salutation, reserved by the Roman emperors for their most intimate friends, was introduced from the Orient in the reign of Augustus, and at first confined to the nobility; by the time of Domitian the custom had become more general. Cp. Suet. *Otho* 6, *Galbam salutavit, utque consuerat, osculo exceptus*, on the very day of Galba's murder! **inmixtus est**: *he was mixed up, lost in the crowd of courtiers*, and thus put on an equal footing with them, an additional humiliation.

8. grave inter otiosos: *unpopular with men of peace.*

10. penitus hausit: *drank deeply of.* A favorite Tacitean metaphor. **cultu modicus**: *unostentatious in his mode of life.* We expect the genitive or *in*, as in Plin. *Epist.* I. 22, 4, *quam parcus in victu, quam modicus in cultu*, but the simple ablative, though occasionally found with this adjective, is perhaps here primarily used for the sake of symmetry with those following. **sermone facilis**: *courteous in conversation, affable.* **uno aut altero**: *one or, at best, two.* After a passive the simple ablative of a *person*, represented as an *active* agent, is rare and chiefly poetic. Cp. Curt. VIII. 14, 15,

Hephaestione comitatus; X. 8, 3, *pueris comitatus;* and *Ann.* XIV. 8, *trierarcho . . . comitatum.* This idiom must be carefully distinguished from the usage noted on ch. 2, 17.

12. per ambitionem: *by outward display*, designed to gain popularity. Cp. ch. 29, 23. The word here closely approaches its original meaning (*captatio favoris*). **aestimare**: usually construed with a simple ablative or with *ex;* with *per*, though a very common substitute for the ablative in Tacitus (cp. note ch. 9, 19), only here and in Liv. XXXVIII. 47, 10. **viso adspectoque**: the more specific term added to the generic, for *adspicere* implies seeing face to face. So Plaut. *Most.* 1105; Hyg. *Fab.* 105, and cp. *Introd.* p. xxx.

13. quaererent famam: *inquired into the reason of his reputation.* Cp. note ch. 32, 18. **pauci interpretarentur**: i.e. a few understood the motives of his conduct (namely, the desire not to invite the open enmity of the emperor and the envy of the *otiosi*), and recognized his greatness in spite of his attempt to conceal it.

Chapter 41. **14. eos dies**: the period subsequent to his recall. **absens**, etc.: note the emphatic anaphora and the alliterative antithesis (*accusatus — absolutus*), on which see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

17. pessimum . . . genus: in apposition to *laudantes.* The precedence of the apposition is more common in Tacitus than in previous writers. For a very similar collocation, cp. *Hist.* I. 15, *adulatio, blanditiae et pessimum veri adfectus venenum sua cuique utilitas.*

18. laudantes = *laudatores, flatterers.* Cp. note *Dial.* 41, 8.

19. sileri: *to be ignored.* Rare with persons and seemingly first so used in Hor. *Carm.* I. 12, 11; in the passive, as here, e.g. Plin. *Epist.* VIII. 22, 4, *quisquis ille . . . sileatur.*

20. Moesia Daciaque, etc.: for the narrative of these events along the lower Danube, we are all but wholly dependent upon Dio Cass. LXVII. 7 ff. and Suet. *Domit.* 6, for the story of Domitian's reign in Tacitus's *Histories* has not come down to us. These conflicts began as far back as 81 A.D. and culminated about the years 85–88, the final subjugation of the Dacians, however, not occurring till the reign of Trajan. Excepting a few temporary successes, these years were signalized by the most disastrous reverses which Rome had sustained since the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. Domitian himself repeatedly went to the seat of war, but his attack upon the German Marcomanni and Quadi was repulsed and he himself had to agree to a humiliating peace with Decebalus, the great leader of the Dacians. **temeritate**

. . . **per ignaviam**: on this characteristic variation, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

21. militares viri: a phrase of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, designating men of rank and military experience as opposed to the common *milites* of the cohort. Here it may be rendered *officers*.

22. expugnati: of persons first in a single passage of Caesar, viz. *B. G.* VII. 10, 1, then repeatedly in Livy, e.g. XXII. 30, 2, and in later prose. **limite**: the celebrated *limes Romanus* or frontier line of defenses, stretching from the Rhine near Cologne to Ratisbon on the Danube, a distance of 350 miles. Domitian had built and laid out a considerable part of it.

23. et ripa: here and *Germ.* 28, 18, of the Danube, but elsewhere in Tacitus, when used absolutely, it refers to the Rhine, the context preventing any ambiguity. — The *et* is epexegetic, *that is to say.* So *Ann.* I. 1, *consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere.* **possessione**: sc. *provinciarum.*

24. dubitatum: *was in question, at stake.* With the phrase, cp. Lucret. III. 836; with the thought, Cic. *Acad. Pr.* II. 43, 132. **damna damnis continuarentur**: *when one disaster followed closely upon the other.* Cp. Liv. II. 54, 2, *continuatur paci externae confestim discordia domi;* XXXI. 41, 17; Lucret. III. 71.

25. omnis annus: *year after year.* **funeribus**: *deaths.* In this signification, the word is poetic and in Tacitus found only here, though he repeatedly uses it in the equally poetic, but rare, sense of a dead body, a meaning unsuitable to the present passage. **poscebatur . . . Agricola**: observe the effective word-order and sonorous rhythm, in keeping with the significance of the statement itself.

26. comparantibus cunctis: Tacitus, for euphonic reasons, habitually avoids *omnibus* after forms in *-ibus*, using *cunctis* or *universis* instead.

27. constantiam: *intrepidity*, opposed to *formido*, as *vigorem* to *inertia.* **expertum bellis animum**: unless Tacitus wrote *belli*, as in Verg. *Aen.* X. 173, *belli inexpertos*, *Hist.* IV. 76, *militem . . . expertumque belli*, it will be preferable to take *bellis* in the sense of *proeliis*, so e.g. *Hist.* IV. 58, *signum belli Batavus dabit*, for Agricola's military experience was confined to the war against the Britons. On *et* after an asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

29. auris verberatas: *the ears were tormented*, a colloquial metaphor, found as early as Plautus, e.g. *Amph.* I. 1, 177. **dum**: *while*, with the imperfect indicative, for temporal *cum*, e.g. *Hist.* I. 1.

30. amore et fide: sc. *erga Domitianum*. *Adhortabantur* must be supplied by zeugma out of *exstimulabant*. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. — With the combination, cp. *Hist.* I. 76 and ch. 32, 4. The ablatives are causal. **malignitate et livore**: sc. *in Agricolam*. Instrumental ablatives, joined to balance the synonymic group preceding. On the collocation, see note *Dial.* 23, 19.

Page 28. 1. pronum: a favorite word of Tacitus, construed also with *ad* or *in*. With dative as here, ch. 33, 13. **deterioribus**: neuter. Tacitus is habitually unmindful of the possible ambiguity of such forms. Cp. e.g. ch. 1, 3; 16, 22; *Dial.* 19, 8; 21, 15; *Hist.* I. 51, *recentibus; Ann.* IV. 59, *incidentibus*, and especially often in the genitive plural.

2. suis virtutibus . . . vitiis aliorum: on the alliterative antithesis combined with chiasmus, see *Introd.* p. xxviii, and with the sentiment, cp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 23, 67, *quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus.*

3. ipsam gloriam: i.e. the very fame which Agricola, according to ch. 40, 8 ff., had so studiously avoided. **praeceps agebatur**: *hurled headlong.* The prominence now acquired is represented, not as a lofty goal to be sought, but as a dangerous abyss. Cp. ch. 5, 10, and *Ann.* XV. 23, *unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant.*

Chapter 42. 4. annus, etc.: Africa and Asia, the two most important senatorial provinces, were every year distributed, as a rule by lot, among the two senior ex-consuls. As the interval which was usually allowed to elapse between the consulship and this proconsulship seems to have fluctuated between five and thirteen years, it is impossible to determine exactly the date here alluded to. Agricola had been appointed consul in the fall of 77 A.D., and Tacitus left Rome, undoubtedly in some official capacity, about 89/90 (cp. ch. 45, 4). As it is intrinsically more probable that Domitian had thus honored Tacitus, *before* the expediency of rejecting the father-in-law had presented itself to him, than that he should have followed up this insult by promoting the son-in-law, Agricola's candidature must be dated a year or two *after* Tacitus's departure.

5. sortiretur: *he was to draw lots for.* On the final subjunctive, see note ch. 34, 5. **Civica**: *C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis*, legatus pro praetore of lower Moesia in 82 A.D. His consulship, not elsewhere recorded, was therefore probably subsequent to this date, for

the governors of the minor provinces were rarely *consulares*, and his proconsulship, during the incumbency of which he was, according to Suet. *Domit.* 10, executed by Domitian, may thus have been awarded to him unusually early or *extra sortem*. Cp. the case of M. Lepidus in Tac. *Ann.* III. 32.

6. consilium: i.e. Agricola, with the fate of Civica before his eyes, had a good reason for declining the dangerous office. **exemplum**: *precedent.* — On the medial position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

8. ultro: *gratuitously*, i.e. they were so eager to have Agricola withdraw that they could not wait till he had done so of his own accord, a probability foreshadowed by *nec . . . deerat*, but actually asked him to announce his decision to them at once.

9. occultius: *concealing their purpose*, opposed to *non iam obscuri*. **quietem et otium**: on this synonymic collocation, cp. note ch. 6, 26.

10. adprobanda: *in indorsing* or *commending*. **non iam obscuri**: i.e. throwing off their mask and revealing their real design. On the adjective for adverb, see note ch. 5, 2.

11. suadentes simul terrentesque: *by entreaty and threats alike.* — On the position of *simul*, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **pertraxere**: *dragged him right into the presence of.*

12. paratus simulatione: *well equipped with hypocrisy.* In this sense *paratus* occurs again, *Dial.* 33, 14, *paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum.* — Domitian pretended not to know what the object or the motive of Agricola's visit was. **in adrogantiam compositus**: sc. *vultum*, *assuming an expression of hauteur.* — This meaning of *compositus*, usually with *in*, seems to be peculiar to Tacitus, and is perhaps a Graecism. Cp. *Hist.* I. 45; II. 9, *in maestitiam c.*, and Thucyd. VI. 58, *τῇ ὄψει πλασάμενος πρὸς τὴν ξυμφοράν.*

13. se excusantis: an analogous instance, and similarly expressed, is recorded in the *Acta Arvalium: Sorte proconsul factus provinciae Asiae se excusavit* (sc. C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, about 100 A.D., under Trajan). Cp. also *Ann.* III. 35, *Lepidum et Blaesum nominavit, ex quis proconsule Africae legeretur . . . intentius excusante se Lepido.* Tacitus does not omit the reflexive pronoun in this phrase, except when the accusative of the thing alleged in excuse is expressed.

14. agi sibi gratias: this was part of the *prudentia* of Agricola, referred to below, by which he averted dangerous consequences. Cp.

Sen. *de trang.* 14, 4, *Gaio Caesari agebant gratias et quorum libri occisi et quorum bona ablata erant; de ira*, II. 33, 2. **beneficii invidia**: *the invidiousness of the alleged favor.* — For a similar irony, closely approaching the figure oxymoron, cp. *Hist.* I. 21, *exilii honorem expectandum.*

15. salarium . . . proconsulare, etc.: *the salary usually given to a proconsul*, namely, of the provinces mentioned. Salaries of the governors of provinces were regulated by Augustus according to rank. What this was for the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces of Asia and Africa is not known, nor, what is unlikely, whether it was the same for all consular proconsuls. The Emperor Macrinus in 217 A.D. gave Aufidius Fronto a million sesterces, about $43,000, on his refusing the proconsulship of Africa, but this date is too late to allow of any inferences for the time of Domitian, nor is it at all certain whether that sum represents the regular salary even of the third century, there being no restriction upon the generosity of the emperor, and he may well have had special reasons for it in view of the action of Aufidius.

16. quibusdam . . . concessum: it is not known who these were.

17. offensus: with infinitive only here, Phaedr. IV. 11, 6, and Suet. *Aug.* 89. **ex conscientia**: the innuendo seems unjust, for Domitian's real motives and hostile attitude toward Agricola were made sufficiently transparent by the rejection of his candidature, together with the refusal to give him the salary granted to others under similar circumstances. **ne quod vetuerat . . . emisse**: a good instance of Tacitean over-conciseness. Domitian refused to *grant* the salary, but Agricola's refusal to *accept* it could only have been purchased *after* it had been granted.

18. Proprium, etc.: with the sentiment may be compared Sen. *de ira* II. 33, 1, *hoc habent pessimum animi . . . insolentes: quos laeserunt et oderunt.*

19. vero: *now*, introducing the application of the general maxim to a particular case. **praeceps in iram**: so in Liv. XXIII. 7, 12, and like *promptus*, *pronus*, *facilis* construed both with *in* and *ad.* **inrevocabilior** = *implacabilior* (its substitute elsewhere in Tacitus) is chiefly poetic and rare. It occurs first in Lucret. I. 468, where it is applied to time.

22. famam fatumque provocabat: *challenged distinction and death.* The alliterative collocation is Vergilian, e.g. *Aen.* VII. 79; VIII. 731. — *fatum* is not used elsewhere in Tacitus of an untimely

or violent death, but *fama* in its present sense of an unenviable distinction or notoriety is generally common.

23. Sciant, etc.: this famous passage, admirable alike in expression and in the sonorousness of its stately rhythm, not only sounds the very keynote of Agricola's political convictions and lifelong practice, but it also embodies the principles by which Tacitus himself was guided in his own career, as is evident from the numerous passages in which he inculcates the same opportunistic and temporizing doctrines. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* VI. 10 (16) of L. Piso, *quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans.* **inlicita**: *disloyalty.*

24. posse . . . esse: a favorite collocation of Tacitus. Cp. e.g. ch. 44, 2, *potest videri . . . effugisse.* **magnōs vĭrōs ēssĕ . . . inclārŭērūnt**: observe the fine effect of these two most favored of rhythmical *clausulae*, giving a sonorous finish to weighty sentiments. Cp. note ch. 30, 12.

25. industria ac vigor adsint: on the plural predicate with two abstract nouns joined by *ac*, see note ch. 4, 21.

26. plerique = *plurimi*, the classical signification, but very rare in Tacitus. Cp. note ch. 1, 10. **per abrupta**: sc. *escendentes*, i.e. the majority who lack the qualities just mentioned and injudiciously rebel against authority may, indeed, also reach great renown, but they do so over perilous paths, their effort culminating, without any ultimate benefit to their country, in a sensational death. Tacitus does not believe in political martyrdom, if it is not likely to bring about the realization of the objects fought for. Cp. *Ann.* IV. 20; XIV. 12, *sibi causam periculi fecit* (sc. *Thrasea*), *ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit.*

Chapter 43. 29. Finis, etc.: this opening paragraph closely resembles Cic. *de orat.* III. 2, 8, *fuit hoc* (sc. *mors Crassi*) *luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus.* It is a rhetorical τόπος, prescribed for the *epilogus.* Cp. *Introd.* pp. xviii f.

30. extraneis: *outsiders;* in Tacitus again, *Ann.* IV. 11, of one not related. — *nobis — amicis — extraneis — ignotis*, mark a descending climax. **etiam . . . que non** = *et ne quidem.* So again in Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3; XVI. 22, *quoque — non* being frequently thus used. **ignotisque**: *and not even to those who knew him not.* In this active sense, for *ignarus*, the word is rare, but found e.g. in Naevius, Cicero, Nepos, and occasionally in post-Augustan Latin. In T. again, *Ann.* II. 71. **vulgus . . . populus**: the collocation is fre-

quent in Tacitus, e.g. *Dial.* 7, 17, *vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus*. *populus* often has a more or less political meaning; *vulgus*, on the other hand, is the people as viewed from the social or intellectual side — the ignorant rabble.

Page 29. **1. hic aliud agens**: *indifferent, apathetic* to public affairs. Cp. *Dial.* 32, 18.

2. per fora et circulos: *in public and at private gatherings.* In this sense, *circulus* is very common, but in Tacitus the word occurs only here and *Ann.* III. 54, *in conviviis et circulis.* **locuti sunt**: sc. *mortem Agricolae, discussed.* So e.g. *Hist.* I. 50, *captam totiens . . . urbem . . . loquebantur;* IV. 12, *caesos exercitus . . . non ut mala loquebantur;* and *Ann.* XVI. 22, *nunc te . . . civitas loquitur.*

3. laetatus est, etc.: on the *collocatio verborum* see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

4. Augebat: *but what increased . . . was.* On the emphatic position see *Introd.* p. xxvi and cp. Cic. *Brut.* I. 2, *augebat etiam molestiam quod . . . vir egregius . . . extinctus.*

5. nobis nihil comperti quod . . . ausim: with the change of the person, common in all languages, cp. e.g. Cic. *ad fam.* V. 12, 1, *ardeo . . . ut nomen nostrum*, and note to *Dial.* 5, 4.

6. ceterum: *but be this as it may*, resumptive, as often. **valetudinem**: *illness*, the word being rarely used of health without some attributive, like *bona, optima.* **ex more principatus**, etc. = *principum . . . visentium*, abstract for concrete, on which see note ch. 16, 21. — It is related of the Emperors Trajan and Alexander Severus that they called upon their sick friends in person.

7. libertorum . . . primi: elsewhere in Tacitus the usual epithet of *liberti* or *amici* is *intimi*, here applied to the physicians.

8. cura: *solicitude.* — Observe the chiasmus, *cura* referring more particularly to *medici, inquisitio* to the *liberti.*

9. momenta: *stages.*

10. dispositos cursores: *relay couriers.* From ch. 45, 15 it would appear that Domitian was at the time in his Alban villa, a little over one mile from Rome. **constabat**: the imperfect shifts the responsibility for this statement from the author, who was not present at the death of Agricola, to those who reported these details at the time. See note ch. 38, 21, and below l. 14. — With this passage cp. *Ann.* II. 69, *simul missi a Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes*, the charge that Germanicus was poisoned being, as in the

present instance, also unsubstantiated; 73, *praetuleritne veneficii signa parum constitit.*

11. nullo credente, etc.: i.e. no one believing that tidings, if received with genuine sorrow, would be sought with such eager haste, the implication being that Domitian knew the cause of Agricola's illness, and desired to learn as quickly as possible whether the poison had done its deadly work. Thus Tacitus virtually expresses his private conviction that the charge, though it could not be directly brought home to the emperor, was substantially true. See also ch. 44, 7; 45, 28 f. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20 accuses Domitian directly of the murder of Agricola. **Speciem**, etc.: in his countenance he exhibited what was to pass as an indication of sincere grief of heart. With the phrase, cp. Cic. *Verr.* I. 8, 21, *cupiebam animi dolorem vultu tegere*, and especially Curt. VI. 9, 1 (32), *vultu praeferens dolorem animi.* — *species*, in the sense of a sham pretext, as opposed to what is real and sincere, is common in all periods of the language.

12. securus iam odii: i.e. he was no longer troubled by the uneasiness caused by his animosity toward Agricola, and could now with complacency affect real sorrow. — *securus*, with a genitive, occurs first in Vergil, e.g. *Aen.* I. 350, and repeatedly in Tacitus.

13. et qui: *being a man who*, subjunctive of characteristic.

15. pissimae: this superlative was censured by Cic. *Phil.* XIII. 19, 43, as an unheard-of solecism committed by Antony, but, according to an ancient grammarian (Pompeius), Cicero employed it himself in his *Letters*, and it is certainly a recognized form in post-Augustan Latin, being especially common in sepulchral inscriptions. **Domitianum**: the omission of an epithet is doubtless intended to heighten the contrast with the preceding laudatory superlatives.

16. honore iudicioque: *as a mark of honor and a sincere compliment.*

18. bono patre . . . malum principem: the antithesis is emphasized, as often, by alliteration. See *Introd.* p. xxviii. The custom of bequeathing part of an estate to the emperor, so as to prevent its confiscation, was common. See note *Dial.* 13, 19.

Chapter 44. 20. Gaio Caesare tertium consule, etc.: i.e. June 13, 40 A.D. Only one consul is here given, because the colleague of Caligula died before entering upon his office, and, hence, only one name was recorded in the *Fasti consulares.*

22. decimo, etc.: i.e. August 23, 93 A.D. **Conlega**: *Pompeius*

Conlega. He is mentioned as the youngest ex-consul to give his opinion in regard to the punishment of Marius Priscus, the proconsul of Africa, who was convicted of extortion in 100 A.D., Pliny and Tacitus appearing for the plaintiff. **Prisco**: the *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* are alike unknown, and even the cognomen is doubtful, being also given as Priscinus.

23. habitum: *external appearance.*

24. decentior quam sublimior: *attractive rather than imposing.* —*decentior* serves as a comparative for *decorus*, the Latin avoiding, if possible, the collocation of *r's*, so e.g. *ferus, ferocior; mirus, mirabilior.* The present form is, however, rare, except in Quintilian. **nihil metus in vultu**: i.e. there was nothing in his countenance, as in the case of Domitian (ch. 45, 22; Plin. *Pan.* 48), to inspire fear. —*metus*, in an active sense, is common in Tacitus and post-Augustan writers.

25. gratia oris: *genial, sweet expression.* In this objective sense, the word is found only in poetry and post-Augustan prose, and is especially frequent in Quintilian, e.g. VI. *prooem.* 7, *quid ille gratiae in vultu.* **supererat**: *predominated.* For other meanings of this word, cp. ch. 22, 22; 34, 29; 44, 2; 45, 7, and the discussion in Gell. *N. A.* I. 22.

26. ipse, contrasted with *habitus.* In Greek, τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον . . . ὁ δ' αὐτός. **medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus**: the comparison of life with a race-track is a commonplace, and occurs as early as Plautus, e.g. *Stich.* I. 2, 23 (vs. 84), *decurso aetatis spatio;* but the phrase *medio in spatio*, with the unusual position of the adjective as here, seems to have been taken from Cic. *de orat.* III. 2, 7, a passage which bears other points of resemblance to these closing chapters. See below. —*integrae* is virtually equivalent to an appositional clause, defining *spatio aetatis.* We may, therefore, translate: *Cut off in the very prime of life, while his faculties were still unimpaired.*

27. quantum ad: the usual form in Tacitus for the more common *quod attinet ad*, on which see note ch. 33, 19.

28. Opibus nimiis, etc.: *he took no delight in excessive riches, and, as a matter of fact, resplendent wealth had not fallen to his lot. speciosus* is a very strong expression. Cp. *Ann.* III. 55, *opibus . . . speciosus.* —The statement itself is amply confirmed by other passages in this treatise, for the loss of Agricola's patrimony (ch. 4, 7; 7, 8), his conduct as praetor (ch. 6, 29), his scrupulous honesty (ch. 6, 20; 9, 17), and the special emphasis laid upon his not receiving a procon-

sular salary (ch. 42, 15), are all alike incompatible with great wealth. Cp. also Dio Cass. LXVI. 20, ἐν τε ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ . . . ἔζησεν. · **Quippe**: frequent in Tacitus in the sense of *enim* or *nam*, with the usual ellipsis. But this lack of worldly goods Agricola bore with resignation, for, etc. He thus formed a marked contrast to Asinius Marcellus, of whom Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 40, says: *clarus neque morum spernendus habebatur, nisi quod paupertatem praecipuum malorum credebat.*

29. vera bona, etc,: the well-known Stoic doctrine that the wise and virtuous man is rich and a king.

30. impleverat: *he enjoyed to the fullest extent, were his in abundance.* In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 16, *impletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi*, but quite frequent elsewhere. — It is a kind of *constructio praegnans*, as *Hist.* III. 40, *proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem* (= handed over through the treason of). Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **et consulari**: On the consulship as the goal of a Roman's ambition, see note *Dial.* 13, 29.

Page 30. 1. triumphalibus, etc.: in this passage the honor of the triumphal ornaments is treated with less depreciation than in ch. 40, 21. All such distinctions were, however, regarded by the Stoics as ἀδιάφορα. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 5, Περὶ ὕψους, 44. **adstruere**: *bestow in addition.* In this figurative sense first in Ovid, *A. A.* II. 119, thereafter common, e.g. Plin. *Epist.* III. 2, 5. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 78. — With the thought, cp. Isoc. *Euag.* 28, τί γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν εὐδαιμονίας, etc. and *Introd.* p. xxxvi.

2. filia . . . superstitibus: on the ablative absolute at the close, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **potest . . . effugisse**: on the *collocatio verborum*, cp. note ch. 42, 24.

3. dignitate = *dignitate senatoria.* So again *Ann.* III. 17; without the ellipsis, *Ann.* III. 30; XVI. 17.

4. adfinitatibus et amicitiis = *adfinibus et amicis*, here used in an asyndetic enumeration, because the preceding nouns are abstract. Cp. note ch. 16, 21. — The concrete sense of the former occurs in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XI. 24; of the latter, *Hist.* I. 10; II. 63. 87; *Ann.* II. 27. 77; IV. 40; V. 2. The thought is a commonplace, as is clear from Menander, *Rhet. Gr.* IX. 293 (III. 420).

6. augurio votisque: correspond chiastically to *durare in . . . lucem*, and *principem . . . videre*, a word like *optabat* being supplied with *votis* out of *ominabatur*, i.e. in his prayers he hoped to see the

present happy age, and he prophetically foretold the accession of Trajan to the throne. Trajan's achievements in Germany before 91 A.D., the year of his consulship, had drawn attention to him, as in the similar case of Vespasian (ch. 13, 28 ff.) and his future greatness seems to have been generally predicted. Cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 5, 94; Dio Cass. LXVII. 12, 1. The involved structure of the sentence was due to the author's striving after conciseness.

7. apud nostras auris: *in my presence.* An instance of synecdoche. This particular quasi-personification occurs in four other Tacitean passages, viz. *Hist.* I. 26; *Ann.* I. 31; II. 39; IV. 29, but apparently not elsewhere. **ominabatur** = *augurabatur et valde optabat.* An instance of the so-called *constructio praegnans.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **festinatae mortis**: objective genitive. The passive meaning is first found in Sallust, e.g. *Iug.* 64, 6; with the implication of prematurely inflicted death, e.g. Juv. IV. 95 f., *mors . . . festinata.*

8. evasisse: sc. *eum*, is the subject of *solacium tulit*, sc. *nobis*, as contrasted with *sicut ei* (l. 5).

9. spiramenta: in this figurative sense the word occurs only here and in Tacitus's imitator, Amm. Marcell. XXIX. 1, 40, who substitutes *mora* for *intervalla;* XIV. 7, 15.

10. continuo et velut uno ictu: i.e. blows dealt out so unceasingly as to amount to but a single stroke. *continuo* is not used as an adverb by Tacitus, but may be conveniently translated as such here.

11. exhausit = *perfodit;* merely a strengthened form of *haurire* which is very often used in this sense. Cp. e.g. Claud. Quadrig. apud Gell. *N. A.* IX. 13, 17; Lucret. V. 1322; Liv. VII. 10, 10, *uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit;* Tac. *Hist.* I. 41, *iugulum eius hausisse.* The other, generally accepted meaning, *to drink up the blood, sap the strength of*, though still more common both in the simple and compound verb, would unnecessarily introduce a mixed metaphor.

Chapter 45. 12. Non vidit, etc.: such passages are typical of rhetorical *consolationes*, a species of composition much cultivated in ancient literature. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* III. 2, 8, *non vidit* (sc. Crassus) *flagrantem bello Italiam . . . non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos . . . non exilium generi, non . . . C. Mari fugam . . . non illam . . . caedem omnium crudelissimam*, etc. Sulpicius in Cic. *ad*

fam. IV. 5, 5; Sen. Rhet. *Suas.* VI. 6; Sen. *ad Marc.* 20, 5; *Introd.* p. xviii. **obsessam curiam**, etc.: this, according to Tac. *Ann.* XVI. 27, occurred under Nero at the trial of Thrasea. Here the same seems to have been related merely on rhetorical grounds to round out the picture.

13. consularium caedes: of the twelve victims of Domitian, mentioned by Suet. *Domit.* 10. 11. 15, nine were ex-consuls. Agricola's name is not among them, doubtless because the author did not regard the emperor as in any way responsible for his untimely death. See note ch. 43, 11. **feminarum**: e.g. Gratilla, the wife of Arulenus Rusticus, Arria and Fannia, respectively the wife and daughter of Paetus Thrasea.

14. exilia et fugas: the latter is added as the wider term, including *exilium*, *relegatio*, and other modes of banishment. See *Introd.* p. xxx. — The same collocation is found, e.g. Cic. *de orat.* III. 3, 9, and with the plural of *fuga*, in Sen. *Agam.* 123. **una adhuc victoria Carus Mettius**: *Mettius Carus*, a notorious informer in the reign of Domitian, known as the accuser, e.g. of Senecio (see note ch. 2, 18), of Fannia, and of Pliny the Younger (cp. Plin. *Epist.* VII. 27, 14). He was himself denounced by one Heliodorus and executed, probably shortly after the death of Domitian. He is frequently mentioned together with Baebius Massa. — On the transposition of the cognomen, cp. *Introd.* p. xxv. **Una . . . victoria**: *on the strength of as yet but one victory.* Ablative of value. The phrase, like *censebatur*, is sarcastic. — The identity of this first victim is unknown.

15. censebatur = *aestimabatur*, *he was held in esteem*, a post-Augustan usage of the verb, on which see note *Dial.* 39, 30. **intra**: *within the walls of*, the preposition being strongly emphatic. **Albanam arcem**: Domitian's favorite villa is so designated by Juv. IV. 145 and Dio Cass. LXVII. 1, 2, τὸ Ἀλβανόν . . . τινὰ ἀκρόπολιν.

16. Messalini: *L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus*, consul 73 A.D., one of the most infamous *delatores* at the court of Domitian, denounced in scathing language by Plin. *Epist.* IV. 22, 5, and by Juv. IV. 113 ff., who styles him *mortifer* and *monstrum*. He was blind and seems not to have survived Domitian (†96). **strepebat**: *resounded.* In this tropical sense the word is extremely rare, e.g. Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 42, 64, 156. **Massa Baebius**: *Baebius Massa*, procurator of Africa in 70 A.D., and even at that time, according to Tac. *Hist.* IV. 50, *optimo cuique exitiosus et inter causas malorum quae mox tulimus, saepius rediturus.* Agricola died just before the impeachment of Baebius by

Pliny and Senecio for malfeasance in the government of Hispania. The trial resulted in his conviction, but the sentence was not carried out.

17. nostrae . . . manus: i.e. of senators, including Tacitus. Cp. Plin. IX. 13, 2, *in senatu senator senatori . . . manus intulisset*, where the trial of Helvidius is narrated at length. **Helvidium**: son of Helvidius Priscus (on whom cp. note ch. 2, 18), consul 87 A.D. He was accused of lèse majesté and executed. The date of his death is fixed by this passage, i.e. shortly after August 23, 93 A.D.

18. Maurici: *Iunius Mauricus*, brother of Rusticus, whose execution is referred to in ch. 2, 17, an intimate friend and correspondent of Pliny the Younger, and highly esteemed by Nerva and Trajan. In 70 A.D. he requested Vespasian to submit to the senate the names of all informers found in the imperial records. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 40. He was banished by Domitian, but recalled by Nerva. **visus**: sc. *foedavit*, to be supplied by zeugma out of *perfudit*, and this the more easily, because *sanguis* is often joined with both these verbs. I.e. us the sight of Mauricus, sent into exile, and of Rusticus, led to execution, has polluted; us Senecio besprinkled with his innocent blood.

19. Senecio: see note ch. 2, 18. **tamen**: i.e. despite his cruel disposition. **subtraxit oculos**: the phrase, found also *Ann.* III. 53; XVI. 26, and its analogue, *subtrahere aures*, seems to be Tacitean.

21. videre: sc. *eum*. **adspici**: sc. *ab eo*.

22. subscriberentur: i.e. the ever-present informers would record our very sighs to be made to testify against us on some future occasion. **denotandis**: *to make mental note of*. On the final gerundive, see note ch. 23, 23; with *sufficere*, as here, e.g. *Ann.* III. 72, and Quint. I. 9, 3.

23. palloribus: abstract for concrete, cp. note ch. 16, 21. Here perhaps influenced by *rubor*, with which it seems intentionally contrasted. — Domitian's very look sufficed to drive the blood from many a face, which would not escape the *delatores*. **vultus et rubor**: *with its ruddy glow*. This is attested by Tac. *Hist.* IV. 40; Plin. *Paneg.* 48; Suet. *Dom.* 18, though different and less disparaging reasons for it were occasionally given.

24. contra pudorem muniebat: his ruddy complexion did not allow a blush of shame, which his atrocities should have called forth, to be seen or recognized as such. The passage seems slightly inconsistent with ch. 42, 14, *nec erubuit*. With the statement itself, cp. Sen. *Epist.* 11, 3.

This matchless epilogue (ch. 45, 25 ff.), so full of piercing tenderness and solemn eloquence, is in its reflections to a large extent made up of well-known and often recurring rhetorical commonplaces, but such is the consummate art of Tacitus that he has nevertheless breathed a new originality into borrowed material, and at the same time succeeded in creating the indelible impression of a spontaneous and deeply sincere outburst of sorrow and affection. See also *Introd.* p. xix.

25 f. Tu vero, etc.: cp. Xen. *Ages.* 5, 3, *βίος τε εὐκλεὴς καὶ θάνατος ὡραῖος*; Cic. *de orat.* III. 3, 12, *ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore, tum mortis opportunitate . . . et ortum et extinctum arbitror.*

27. constans et libens: *with courage and cheerfulness.*

28. fatum excepisti: Tacitus has some thirty phrases for death and dying, he being fond of working variations upon commonplace expressions. Cp. in this treatise, ch. 1, 14; 2, 18; 3, 19. 24; 5, 3; 7, 8; 15, 27; 16, 32; 29, 2; 31, 17; 38, 21; 41, 25; 42, 5; 43, 29. 9; 44, 21. 27. 11; 45, 13. 19. 27. 1. 8. *Excipere fatum* occurs e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 76, 23. **tamquam . . . donares**: the *tamquam* clause, giving the inference of others (l. 27), according to Tacitean usage, on which see note ch. 15, 19, is based more particularly upon *libens*, for a man such as Agricola must be assumed to have met death *constans*, even if there had been no suspicion of foul play. That he should by his manner have given the impression of exonerating Domitian would be quite in accord with his character, as drawn in this treatise. **pro virili portione**: apparently a new coinage to avoid the hackneyed *pro virili parte* (not in Tacitus). The phrase occurs also *Hist.* III. 20, but is generally very rare. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxv.

30. erepti: the use of a perfect passive participle for an abstract noun is characteristic of Tacitean style. Of the nearly thirty instances, however, it is found in the smaller works only here and *Dial.* 29, 22; 37, 27.

Page 31. 1. valetudini = *aegro.* Cp. note ch. 16, 21.

3. animo figeremus: a phrase first found in Verg. *Aen.* IV. 15.— On the ablative of place where, see note ch. 12, 4. — With the sentiment, cp. the words put into the mouth of the dying Germanicus in *Ann.* II. 71 (cited below, ch. 46, 12). **Noster hic**: this collocation is especially common in the *Dialogus*, e.g. 16, 15, *hunc nostrum;* in the later works only here and *Hist.* II. 47, *hanc virtutem vestram.* The demonstrative, moreover, which elsewhere always precedes, here

follows, because of the anaphora, *noster — nostrum — nobis.* — The reference is more particularly to Tacitus and his wife.

4. condicione: *owing to, through the circumstance*, the noun taking the place of a preposition, like *beneficio* (*Dial.* 8, 29), *ope* (*Hist.* IV. 24), *merito* (*Hist.* V. 4). — On the absence of Tacitus between 89–93/4, see note ch. 42, 4 and *Introd.* p. vi.

5. ante quadriennium = *quadriennio ante*, a very common idiom in Tacitus and post-Augustan Latin generally. It occurs first in Nepos, *Dat.* 11, *ante aliquot dies. Ante* and likewise *post* gradually lost their adverbial character, and were regarded only as prepositions. **Omnia . . . superfuere honori tuo**: *all the ministrations of affection were thine in abundance.* · In this sense *honor* is Vergilian, but rare. Cp. *Aen.* XII. 56 f., *si quis Amatae Tangit honos animum.* — With the meaning of *superfuere*, cp. *Germ.* 6, 4; 26, 18; *Hist.* I. 51, and note ch. 44, 25.

7. comploratus = *simul ploratus.* The earliest instance of this usage, for *cum* in composition with a verb either intensifies or is equivalent to *inter se.* The present meaning of the compound is a Graecism, especially common with verbs denoting sorrow or mourning, and hence the very few similar instances found in Latin, before Tertullian and other African writers, occur in what are evident translations, e.g. Ter. *Ad. Prol.* 6; Cic. *Top.* 3, 12.

8. aliquid pathetically expresses the condition of the sick man, who, already in the shadow of death, is yet dimly conscious of the absence of his only child.

Chapter 46. 10. Si quis piorum, etc.: the belief in a hereafter for the virtuous and the good has found frequent expression in the ancient poets and philosophers, one of the earliest literary passages being Eur. *Alc.* 744 f., Εἰ δέ τι κἀκεῖ Πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, etc., and in Roman writers, Plaut. *Trin.* 549 f., *Fortunatorum memorant insulas quo cuncti, qui aetatem egerint caste suam, conveniant.* — The statement of a transference to the Elysian fields is prescribed for the *encomium* by the rhetorician Menander, *Rhet. Gr.* III. 414, 16 Sp. See also *Introd.* p. xix. **ut sapientibus placet**: i.e. the philosophers, more particularly, it would seem, the Stoic Chrysippus.

12. nosque et domum: on *que — et*, a favorite collocation in Tacitus, when the pronoun precedes, cp. note ch. 18, 10. **desiderio . . . lamentis**, etc., correspond chiastically to *nos* and *domum* (Agricola's wife and daughter). Such injunctions to survivors seem

to have been a rhetorical commonplace. Cp. the speech of the dying Germanicus in *Ann.* II. 71, *non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi*, and *Introd.* p. xix.

14. quas: i.e. *virtutes tuas iam in locum piorum translatas.* **fas est**: this religious term, in place of *licet* or the like, seems intentionally chosen, for it was a widespread belief among the ancients that loud and excessive lamentations disturb the peace of the dead, hence also *placide quiescas* above. Cp. Stat. *Silv.* II. 6, 93 Vl.

15. inmortalibus: *lifelong.* In this restricted meaning, e.g. Plancus in Cic. *ad fam.* X. 11, 1, *inmortales ago tibi gratias agamque dum vivam;* ad Q. fr. III. 1, 3, 9; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 32. Cp. the analogous use of *aeternus*, e.g. Lucret. III. 907; Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 55. **si natura suppeditet, similitudine**: observe the force of the subjunctive, implying that while their *admiratio* was boundless, they might possibly not be able to reach the standard set by his lofty character.

17. Id . . . praeceperim: *this thought . . . I would impress upon.* Potential subjunctive, as in ch. 10, 25. — The infinitive after *praecipio* occurs again in Tacitus in ch. 38, 29, but it may here have been used because of the *ut* clause following.

19. facta dictaque: the usual order of this phrase, common in both Greek (λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ) and Latin, is reversed to emphasize the *deeds* of Agricola as the more important. **secum revolvant**: *turn over in their minds.* In this peculiar sense the word is first found in Verg. *Aen.* II. 101, and then occasionally in later poetry, but in prose only here and again *Ann.* III. 18, *quanto plura recentium . . . revolvo.* The figure seems to be taken from the ancient method of reading, the papyrus having to be unrolled on the left, if a reperusal was intended.

20. formamque ac figuram: an alliterative collocation, especially frequent in Cicero, and not rare elsewhere. — Cp. note ch. 33, 12.

21. corporis complectantur . . . imaginibus: this is said in allusion to a custom often referred to in Greek and Latin poetry. Cp. e.g. Stat. *Silv.* II. 7, 126 ff. Vl. **non quia . . sed** for the more usual *non quod*, with the subjunctive introduces a rejected reason, the true grounds being added with *sed.* So often in Tacitus.

23. simulacra . . . possis: the idea that character and achievements live in memory long after commemorative statues have vanished finds its earliest expression in Pindar (*Nem.* V. 1), and is thereafter reiterated in various ways, by poets, historians, orators, and rhetoricians, throughout antiquity. Cp. esp. Xen. *Ages.* 11, 14, ἡ μὲν

τοῦ σώματος ἴσχυς γηράσκει, ἡ δὲ ψυχῆς ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν; Isocr. *Euag.* 73; Sen. *ad Polyb.* 18, 2; Stat. *Silv.* V. 1, 1; Amm. Marc. XIV. 6, 8, and Tac. *Ann.* IV. 38.

25. tuis ipse: *your own.* Cp. note ch. 1, 10.

26. Quidquid . . . rerum: note the equilibrium of clauses, the anaphora, and the sonorous rhythm of this fervent passage.

28. in fama rerum: *in the story of his deeds.* Cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 39, *claros rerum fama.*

29. veterum . . . obruit: observe the three successive alliterative groups. **oblivio obruit**: the phrase is found in a somewhat similar passage in Cic. *Brut.* 15, 60, *nisi unius esset Enni testimonio cognitum, hunc* (sc. Cethegum) *vetustas, ut alios fortasse multos, oblivione obruisset.* Cp. also the famous passage in Hor. *Carm.* IV. 9, 25 ff., *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi; sed omnes inlacrimabiles Urguentur ignotique longa Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.* — Agricola came near meeting with the same fate, for, excepting two meagre references in Dio Cass., viz. XXXIX. 50, 4 and LXVI. 20, 1, our knowledge of his very existence is based entirely on this biography.

30. narratus et traditus superstes, correspond respectively and in the same order to *in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum*, and *in fama rerum*, i.e. Agricola's life, made known to men and handed down to posterity, will survive in this story of his deeds.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

THE deviations from the text of Halm[4] here noted follow the bracket. — *C. R.* refers to my *Notes to the Agricola* in the *Classical Review*, vol. XI. (1897), pp. 325–332. — *F.* to Furneaux's edition, Oxford, 1898. — A(Γ) = Vat. 3429; B(Δ) = Vat. 4498.

Chapter **3**, line 12. **set**] *et* — MSS. See *F.* ad loc.

4, 16. **ultra quam**] *ultraque quam* — Baehrens. Cp. *C. R.* 325.

4, 17. **ac senatori**] ⟨*ac senatori*⟩. Cp. *C. R.* 325. *Andresen* (and *F.* is disposed to agree with him) has objected to this deletion on the ground that *senatori* may be taken in an anticipatory sense, as in *Dial.* 28, 3, *principes liberos* (destined to be leaders) and *Ann.* III. 59, *rectorem generis humani* (the future ruler). This explanation would be acceptable if the text read *ac consuli*, expressive of the highest attainable goal, as in the examples just cited; but to reach senatorial rank was certainly no conspicuous achievement, and its mention immediately upon *Romano* is in the nature of an anti-climax.

6, 18. 20. **pro consule . . . pro consule**] *proconsulem . . . proconsul.*

6, 27. **tenor**] † *certior* — MSS. No satisfactory emendation of this admittedly corrupt reading has yet been proposed. *Tenor* (Rhenanus) gives a tolerable sense, but it is paleographically out of the question, and the word does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus. Cp. *C. R.* 325.

6, 29. **medio rationis**] *medio moderationis.* Cp. *C. R.* 326.

6, 2. **effecit**] *fecit* — MSS. Cp. Cic. *in Verr.* V. 2, 5; Ovid, *ex Pont.* I. 1, 65.

8, 23. **dignum est**: Tacitus elsewhere omits the copula after *dignum* and *indignum.* See *C. R.* 326. I have now retained it with the MSS. because the ellipsis of the copula had not yet reached the proportions it had in the later writings. See *Introd.* p. xxxii. Possibly also, as Andresen suggests, it may have been here designedly expressed to prevent *erat* from being understood.

9, 27. Haud . . . elĕgit. I have given this senarius (or skazon) as a quotation. It is metrically perfect, contains a complete thought, poetically expressed, and could be omitted without disturbing the context. None of the other rhythmical lines in Tacitus satisfy all these conditions. See note ch. 10, 15.

10, 13. fama est transgressa, sed] *fama. sed transgressis et* — Purser, *Hermathena*, vol. X. (1898), p. 190, a paleographical improvement upon Schömann's emendation of the corrupted text (est transgressis sed, i.e. transgressis *et*). The *et* is the more appropriate, since *inmensum* and *enorme* are not synonymous in this passage. See note ad loc.

11, 8. vi] *usu* — MSS. Cp. Purser, l.c. p. 190 and note ad loc.

11, 11. deprehendas . . . persuasione] *deprehendas ac . . . persuasiones.* Cp. *C. R.* 326.

12, 4. patiens frugum, fecundum] *frugum patiens, fecundum.* Cp. *C. R.* 327. — The reading *arborum fecundum*, which has met with considerable favor, is rendered impossible by *tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt*, the same objection applying to *pecorum fecundum*, which Purser prefers, l.c. p. 190.

14, 11. Veranius] *Q. Veranius* — Ritter.

15, 23. manum] *manus* — Pomponius Laetus.

15, 2. impetus integris] *impetus* — MSS. Cp. *F.* ad loc.

16, 19. cuiusque] *quisque* — Nipperdey, the synchysis (cp. note *Dial.* 12, 7) being quite Tacitean. *suae cuiusque* seems too ambiguous.

16, 31. esset, seditio] *et seditio* — MSS. Cp. *F.* ad loc.

17, 6. minuta . . . et] *et minuta . . . ⟨et⟩* — see *C. R.* 327.

17, 13. sustinuit⟨que⟩] *sustinuitque* — MSS. Cp. *C. R.* 328.

18, 7. subitis] *dubiis* — MSS. See note ad loc.

18, 9. patrius] *proprius* (p̃rius — MSS.). Cp. note ad loc. *patrius* is incompatible with *lectissimos.*

18, 12. qui mare: this much molested passage is perfectly sound. See note ad loc.

19, 6. † ludere pretio] *ludere pretio.* See note and *F.* ad loc.

19, 8. pro proximis] *proximis* — MSS.

20, 19. invitamenta] *incitamenta* — A′ (Γ). See note ad loc.

20, 22. tanta] *et tanta* — MSS. The reading of the MSS. is unobjectionable. See note ad loc.

22, 12. desertum, nam . . . hiems, crebrae eruptiones] *desertum, crebrae eruptiones, nam* — MSS. Halm's transposition is quite unjustifiable, both on internal (see note ad loc.) and external

grounds. For not only is the insertion of *crebrae eruptiones* between *intrepida hiems* and *et sibi quisque praesidio* paleographically unwarranted, but it also involves a flagrant violation of the Tacitean usage of *et* after an asyndeton, and at the same time rudely separates two statements which clearly belong together.

22, 21. et erat ut] *et ut erat* — Henrichsen. This emendation, independently suggested also by Purser, l.c. p. 192, is extremely easy and satisfactory, while *ut erat* of the MSS. or *et erat ut* is awkward and ambiguous, referring equally to what precedes and to what follows. But Tacitus would certainly not affirm the charge involved in *acerbior*. With Henrichsen's reading, he qualifies the statement in two ways. Agricola was not *acerbus*, but at best only *iniucundus*, and even that only *adversus malos*, for he was habitually *comis bonis*.

23, 25. percucurrerat] *percurrerat* — B(Δ), Woelfflin. Tacitus seems to have avoided the reduplicated forms in compounds.

24, 32. nave prima transgressus: crossing over with a fleet for the first time. The conjectures made to this passage are without exception unwarranted. See *C. R.* 328 and notes ad loc.

24, 10. differunt: interiora parum, melius aditus . . . cogniti] *differunt* ⟨*in melius*⟩. *Aditus . . . cogniti* — Wex. Halm's interpolation of *interiora parum*, apart from its boldness, attributes to Tacitus a most gratuitous statement. *In melius* is probably the marginal note or interlinear gloss of some patriotic Irish scribe which subsequently intruded into the text. The MS. tradition of the *Agricola* being distinct from the other works of Tacitus, and the contents of this particular chapter appealing, as it must have done, directly to Irishmen, lends color to the supposition that the archetypon came from one of the famous Irish scriptoria. Scribes have often relieved their feelings by marginal remarks of this nature.

25, 21. timebantur] *timebat* — Ritter, *timebant* — MSS. Agricola is the subject throughout (incohabat, amplexus, exploravit). There is, therefore, no reason for writing *timebantur*, particularly as *timebat* is an equally simple correction. Agricola feared that the march of a Roman army might be rendered dangerous by the presence of the natives through whose territory they had to pass.

26, 17. et Romanis: I should prefer to read *at* with Baehrens.

28, 9. uno renavigante] *uno retro remigante*. Cp. *C. R.* 329. The MSS. read *uno remigante*, which is admittedly corrupt.

29, 24. Probably Tacitus wrote *tulit, sed* (set) for *tulit et*, a case of haplography, the final '**t**' (of *tulit*) being, as often, mistaken for

an 's.' So perhaps also 37, 22, *humus, sed* for *humus et*, as suggested by Halm.

31, 26. **in patientiam bellaturi**] *in paenitentiam arma laturi* — Wex; *in paenitentiam laturi* — MSS. — The emendation of *Wex* is by far the simplest of the many suggested, and is highly satisfactory in sense. I can see no force in Woelfflin's objection that the Britons had already taken up arms, and could not, therefore, be said *laturi*. Nor can I understand why Tacitus (as F. ad loc. maintains) should have shrunk from using a perfectly intelligible phrase like *arma ferre in paenitentiam*. *Paenitentiam* might of course be regarded as the false solution of the compendium for *patientiam*, which, be it observed, is not found in the MSS.; but even if it were, the former would be the *difficilior lectio*, because a less commonplace, and therefore a more Tacitean, antithesis to *libertatem* than *patientiam*. We shall take up arms against the Romans, says Calgacus, in the hope of securing our liberty, and not in the expectation of having ever to regret the attempt, as was the case with the Brigantes.

32, 9. **alia**: possibly this represents the compendium for *aliena*, a reading highly suitable to the context, but see note note ad loc.

33, 1. **virtute vestra**] *virtute et* — MSS. — Peter alone of recent editors has defended the traditional reading, but I cannot accept his reasons. *imperium Romanum* does not merely represent the substitution of an abstract for the concrete, but is clearly a personification used to avoid the mention of Domitian, for the successes referred to belong for the chief part in the reign of that emperor, Peter erroneously supposing that the abstract was employed so as to include Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The Empire once personified, it was as natural as it was legitimate to predicate *virtus*, or any other quality of it. See also note ad loc. I have, therefore, had no hesitation in restoring the reading of the MSS.

33, 9. **montesve**] *montesque* — Urlichs. The suggestion of an alternative is quite out of place, the aim of the speaker being to give a cumulative effect in the enumeration of the hardships the Roman soldier had overcome. The collocation, *paludes montesque et flumina*, is, moreover, exceedingly common in Tacitus, *-ve -et*, not being found at all. Cp. note ch. 12, 3.

33, 11. **acies**] *veniunt* — Schoene; *animus* — MSS. *Dare aciem* occurs only in Val. Flacc. V. 617, and should, therefore, not have been forced upon T. *veniunt*, though not a certain emendation, gives an excellent sense and is methodically as justifiable as *acies*.

33, 14. **ut . . . ita**] *et . . . ⟨item⟩*. Cp. my review of Furneaux's edition, *Class. Review*, XIII. (1899), p. 213. The *item* of the MSS., changed by Rhenanus into *ita*, which, if the original, would hardly have been thus corrupted, seems to be nothing more than a dittography of the final letters of fron*tem*. The confusion of *et*, *ut*, *at* is notoriously frequent, while the ellipsis of *sed* in an adversative asyndeton is characteristically Tacitean. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

33, 21. **mors turpi vita potior**] *mors, turpi vita potior*, — Schoene. I.e. *mors . . . et incolumitas . . .* eodem loco sita sunt.

34, 3. **novissimae res et extremo metu torpor . . . aciem in his vestigiis**] *n. r. et extremus metus corpora . . . ⟨aciem⟩ . . . in h. v.* — See *C. R.* 329, and *F.* ad loc. Prof. Merrill's suggestion, in *Class. Rev.* XII. (1898), p. 355, to read *etiam* for *aciem*, though paleographically very easy, involves a flat contradiction of the context, whether we take *etiam* in the sense of *even* or of *also*, as is evident from *hi . . . fugacissimi* and *quos . . . deprehensi sunt*.

35, 15. **bellanti**] *bellandi* — MSS. Cp. *Andresen* and *F.* ad loc.

36, 30. **cohortes**] *cohortes tres* — Rhenanus.

36, 10. **equitum turmae**: the explanation given in the note ad loc., I feel convinced, disposes of the many difficulties to which this passage has given rise, without altering the text, although it is possible that *equitum* merely represents a false solution of the compendium intended for *equorum*. There were no *equites* among the Caledonians; on the other hand, the phrase cannot be applied to the Romans without making the entire paragraph hopelessly unintelligible; but inasmuch as *turmae equitum* was a well-known technical term for a detachment of Roman cavalry, nothing was more natural than that the scribe of the archetypon understood *equitum* with *turmae*. But this word is frequently used of a crowd or horde of animals, and I so interpret it in this passage, whether we actually read *equorum* or regard *equitum* in this sense as one of Tacitus's many Vergilian reminiscences. F. Haverfield (*Class. Rev.* XIII. p. 305) in a very recent reëxamination of the *five* passages, generally cited for the use of *eques* = *equus*, has denied the validity of this equation. His argumentation does not appear convincing to me, nor do I see why *eques* may not have been employed in the analogously ambiguous sense that *horse* is in English, and *cavalleria* in Italian. Cp. also Milton, *P. L.* I. 307, *chivalry* = knights. In any case, the present passage, though hitherto overlooked, furnishes a very clear instance of this confusion; every other interpretation involving insuperable difficulties.

36, 14. aequa . . . aegre, etc.] † *aequa . . . † aegre.* This emendation of the corrupt text gives a good sense, but it is more than doubtful, if it represents what Tacitus wrote.

37, 19. vacui spernebant] ⟨*vacui*⟩ *spernebant. vacui* I believe to be a gloss on *pugnae expertes*, which taken by itself is ambiguous. In any case, the fact that these Britons were *vacui* cannot have been given as the reason why they despised the *small* number of the Romans.

37, 1. † item] *identidem* — Hutter.

37, 6. perscrutari] *persultare* — Rhenanus. See *F.* ad loc.

38, 19. consilia ⟨aliqua⟩] *consilia aliqua* — MSS. See note and *F.* ad loc..

38, 23. deserti] *secreti* — MSS. See note ad loc. and Purser l.c. p. 198.

38, 30. peditem atque equites] *pedites atque equites.* See *C. R.* 329.

38, 2 f. proximo anno . . . reditura erat] *proximo . . . redierat* — MSS. Cp. Andresen and *F.* ad loc.

39, 6. excepit: this reading may be defended as in note ad loc., but *accepit* would be preferable. The codex B (Δ) has only *coepit*, and the two verbs are frequently confused in MSS. Cp. my note to *Dial.* 1, 14 (p. 60 edit. maior).

41, 27. vigorem et constantiam et expertum . . . animum] *vigorem, constantiam et*, etc. — A (Γ). This reading, though hitherto universally rejected, accords with the consistent practice of Tacitus in the use of *et* after an asyndeton, the third member being amplified and adding a new and often, as here, the most important element in the enumeration. Cp. *Hist.* I. 15 (cited in note ch. 41, 7) and *Introd.* p. xxviii.

41, 28. eorum quibus exercitus committi solerent, quibus] *ceterorum quibus* — Grotius; *eorum quibus* — MSS.

42, 13. preces excusantis] *preces se excusantis.* Cp. note ad loc.

43, 5. adfirmare ut ausim] *quod* (Acidalius) *firmare* (Henrichsen, Woelfflin). The *ad* is a corruption of q̃d, the lower part of 'q' having become obliterated. The use of the simple verb is quite Tacitean. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* I. 81, *de comitiis . . . vix quidquam firmare ausim;* VI. 28, *quae vetus memoria firmavit.*

43, 7 f. libertorum primi et medicorum intimi: as *intimi* is the standing epithet of *liberti* in Tacitus, one is strongly tempted to read with Ernesti, *medicorum primi et libertorum intimi* or simply

to interchange the attributives, but such a change cannot be justified on any methodical grounds.

43, 12. **doloris habitu vultuque prae se tulit**] *doloris animi vultu⟨que⟩ prae se tulit* — Baehrens, and see *C.R.* 329 f.

44, 21. **sexto**] *quarto* — Petavius. Cp. Andresen and *F.* ad loc.

44, 24. **impetus**] *metus* — A (Γ) in margin, *impetus* — A (Γ), *metus et impetus* — B (Δ). The readings in AB seem to me quite untenable; *metus*, however, is unobjectionable. See note ad loc. and cp. with the entire passage Plut. *Demet.* 2, τὸ γὰρ πρόσωπον (= *vultus*) χάριν (= *gratia*) καὶ βάρος (= *sublimior*) καὶ φόβον (= *metus*) καὶ ὥραν (= *decentior*) εἶχε.

44, 28 ff. **peregit. Quippe . . . poterat? opibus . . . contigerant. filia . . . superstitibus potest**, etc.] *peregit. Opibus . . . contigerant. Quippe . . . poterat, filia . . . superstitibus? potest*, etc. On this transposition, see *C. R.* 330–331, *ibid.* vol. XIII. (1899), p. 213.

44, 29. **contigerant**] *non contigerant* — MSS. Cp. *C. R.* 331 and note ad loc.

45, 17. ⟨**iam**⟩ **tum**] *nondum*. See *C. R.* 332.

46, 12. **nosque domum**] *nosque et domum* — Urlichs. The insertion of *et* seems called for, not as though Tacitus, as Agricola's son-in-law, could not have spoken of himself as a member of his family (so *F.* ad loc.), but partly because *que* — *et*, if the sentence begins with a personal pronoun, is the rule in Tacitus (see note ch. 18, 10), partly because of *ab . . . lamentis*. See note ad loc.

46, 15. **te potius . . . colamus**] *potius . . . te colamus*. See *C. R.* 332.

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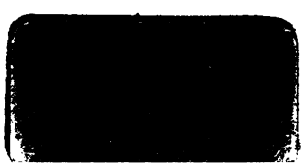
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